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ABSTRACT

This handbook contains lesson plans developed by secondary teachers for working with primary source materials drawn from 20th century novels and motion pictures. Readers are encouraged to adapt these materials to fit their own teaching. Lessons are developed around: (1) "The Jungle," (Upton Sinclair); (2) "Gandhi" (film); (3) "All Quiet on the Western Front" (Erik Remarque and film); (4) "The Grapes of Wrath" (John Steinbeck); (5) "The Mortal Storm" (1940), "Tender Comrade" (1943), and "The Best Years of Our Lives" (1946) to study history through film; (6) "The North Star" (1943), a film to explore film as a reflection of society or affected by society; and (7) "Ben Hur" (1959) as a film to supplement the study of the Roman Empire and the rise of Christianity. Suggestions for activities and evaluations are included. Appendices contain many supplemental materials. (EH)

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ED 391 743

Teaching with Primary Sources:

Lesson Plans for Creative Teaching in Social Studies

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Editor's Introduction

For a full year the Marathon County History Teaching Alliance has been engaged in intensive study of selected novels and motion pictures derived from those literary sources. During the course of this project, teachers have gained extensive experience in the analysis of both literary and cinematic works as historical documents. Building on a strengthened command of important content materials in history, literature, and film, they have explored new approaches to teaching with primary sources. Working with primary source material drawn from Twentieth Century novels and motion pictures, Alliance participants worked to devise teaching materials that might successfully be used in the secondary school classroom. The product of these efforts has been the development of the varied lessons plans contained in this handbook. Readers are encouraged to adapt and employ these materials in their own teaching, should they seem applicable in history and literature courses. Authors of the plans contained in this volume will be willing to share their expertise and experience with other teachers upon request. Inquiries may also be directed to the project director at the University of Wisconsin Center-Marathon County (715/845-9602). We hope that wide circulation of this handbook will contribute to the advancement of secondary teaching.

J.J.L.

James G. Grinsel
James Brown
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Read The Jungle and prepare for a scored fifty-five minute discussion.

Although the discussion will focus on The Jungle, topics covered will include many themes from the first semester of U.S. History II.

As you read the book consider its relationship to the rise of big business, immigration, urbanization, labor and the American political system in the 19th century.

A-level Seminar

U.S. History II offers opportunity for enrichment and challenge for students with higher ability and/or a higher degree of motivation. In addition to participating in the regular program required of all, students desiring to work for an "A" grade participate in an additional phase called "A-level Seminar" which requires significant additional reading of a challenging and scholarly nature. Groups of eight to ten "A-level" students meet with a teacher in open lab once every three weeks for a 35-minute seminar discussion. These lively discussions further develop the higher order thinking skills of highly motivated students.

Scored Small Group Discussion

In the last small group discussion you are asked to participate in a sustained twenty-four minute discussion. At the start of the class you will be presented with a discussion guide. Although your teacher will help get the discussion going, he or she will be allowed to speak only five times so the discussion will be student dominated. During the discussion you will be able to refer to your unipac notes, your in-depth study and your essay but you will not be allowed to simply read from them.

It is expected that your small group will keep the discussion going for twenty-four minutes which will result in an "A" grade for all class members. In case it does not, the following grade scale will be used:

22-23 minutes = B
18-21 minutes = C
16-17 minutes = D
less than 16 = F

Guidelines for the scored discussion.

1. Students may use their notes but they are not to read from them.
2. Students are encouraged to ask each other questions and are to feel free to follow-up or elaborate on what another student has said.
3. Questions of interpretation should promote conflicting viewpoints.
4. The class should pace itself in the discussion. There are 8 questions so seven to eight minutes per question would be an average although all questions are not equally significant.
5. All students will actively and thoughtfully participate.

Grading

Your seminar teacher will evaluate your thoughtfulness and participation in the discussion the following way:

Excellent = A Good = B OK = C

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THE JUNGLE

Hand out the book THE JUNGLE to read.

Give the two handouts:
  Muckraking and the Jungle
  The Jungle and the Progressives

Read chapter nine in **AFTER THE FACT**.
  Write and essay on the following question.
    The Muckrakers were just a sensation and brought about no changes in society. Assess the validity of this statement.

Do the test on THE JUNGLE.

Advanced Placement American History II

Name________________________________ Date____________________

"There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed." [1]

With these words, President Theodore Roosevelt, speaking to the House of Representatives in 1906, described the role of journalists and novelists whose works focused on the need for reform in politics, business, and society. Among these works is Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, a novel famous for its graphic descriptions of unsanitary procedures in Chicago's meat industry, as well as for its sympathetic presentation of poverty experienced by immigrants.

Near the beginning of the novel, we read of the hope, the optimistic belief in the "American Dream," that characterized the immigrants, including *The Jungle's* main character, Jurgis Rudkus.

> *"Jurgis, too, had heard of America. That was a country where, they said, a man might earn three rubles a day; and Jurgis figured what three rubles a day would mean, with prices as they were where he lived, and decided forthwith that he would go to America and marry, and be a rich man in the bargain. In that country, rich or poor, a man was free, it was said; he did not have to go into the army, he did not have to pay out his money to rascally officials—he might do as he pleased, and count himself as good as any other man. So America was a place of which lovers and young people dreamed. If one could only manage to get the price of a passage, he could count his troubles at an end."* (p. 22)

Disillusionment comes to the reader as quickly as it does to Jurgis and his fellow immigrants.

> *"They had a hard time on the passage; there was an agent who helped them, but he proved a scoundrel, and got them into a trap with some officials, and cost them a good deal of their precious money, which they clung to with such horrible fear. This happened to them again in New York—for, of course, they knew nothing about the country, and had no one to tell them, and it was easy for a man in a blue uniform to lead them away, and to take them to a hotel and keep them there, and make them pay enormous charges to get away. The law says that the rate card shall be on the door of a hotel; but it does not say that it shall be in Lithuanian."* (p. 23)

What criticism does Sinclair express through these passages?

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[1] Theodore Roosevelt, "The Man with the Muck Rake," *Selected American Speeches on Basic Issues* (1850-1950), ed. Carl G. Brandt and Edward M. Shafter, Jr. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 279.

Jurgis and his "family" travel to Chicago, where they try to earn a share in "the good life" through various jobs in the city's famous meat industry. Sinclair bombards the reader with passages critical of the meat-packers. He targets graft and corruption:

> *". . . one evening the old man came home in a great state of excitement, with the tale that he had been approached by a man in one of the corridors of the pickle rooms of Durham's, and asked what he would pay to get a job. He had not known what to make of this at first; but the man had gone on with the matter-of-fact frankness to say that he could get him a job, provided that he were willing to pay one-third of his wages for it. . . . It was simply some boss who proposed to add a little to his income. After Jurgis had been there awhile he would know that the plants were simply honeycombed with rottenness of that sort—the bosses grafted off the men, and they grafted off each other; and some day the superintendent would find out about the boss, and then he would graft off the boss."* (pp. 58-59)

He also includes stomach-turning passages to convince readers of the health-endangering aspects of the industry.

> *"Jurgis was ordered to remain and do some special work which this injured man had usually done. It was late, almost dark, and the government inspectors had all gone, and there were only a dozen or two of men on the floor. That day they had killed about four thousand cattle, and these cattle had come in freight trains from far states, and some of them had got hurt. There were some with broken legs, and some with gored sides; there were some that had died, from what cause no one could say; they were all to be disposed of, here in darkness and silence. 'Downers,' the men called them; and the packing house had a special elevator upon which they were raised to the killing beds, where the gang proceeded to handle them, with the air of businesslike nonchalance which said plainer than any words that it was a matter of everyday routine. It took a couple of hours to get them out of the way, and in the end Jurgis saw them go into the chilling room with the rest of the meat, being carefully scattered here and there so that they could not be identified."* (pp. 62-63)

> *"Worst of any, however, were the fertilizer men, and those who served in the cooking rooms. These people could not be shown to the visitor—for the odor of a fertilizer man would scare any ordinary visitor at a hundred yards, and as for the other men, who worked in tank rooms full of steam, and in some of which there were oven vats near the level of the floor, their peculiar trouble was that they fell into the vats; and when they were fished out, there was never enough of them left to be worth exhibiting—sometimes they would be overlooked for days, till all but the bones of them had gone out to the world as Durham's Pure Leaf Lard!"* (pp. 98-99)

What specific criticisms are expressed here?

The Jungle appeared in serial form in 1905 and in book form in 1906. Congress passed the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906, and federal laws regarding meat inspection followed. The novel, then, is an example of a literary work helping to change history.

Advanced Placement American History II

Name________________________ Date________________

THE JUNGLE *AND THE PROGRESSIVES*

The Jungle deals withmany problem areas of the Progressive Era. As you read, record specific passages dealing with these topics. Also list relevant historical facts.

Problem Area	**Treatment in *The Jungle***	**Historical Data**
Meat-packing industry		
New immigrants		
Political machines		
Urban life/rural life		
Plight of the poor		
Child labor		
Working conditions		
Unemployment		
Organized crime		
Socialism		
Alcohol/drugs		

EXTRA CREDIT TEST - THE JUNGLE

Do **FIVE** of the following.

1. Contrast Mike Scully to Jack Duane.

2. How does Sinclair portray the worlds of crime, politics and business?

3. Is Marija's becoming as prostitute a comment on the fate of women in general or on Jurgis' fate? Explain.

4. Give what you feel is Sinclair's vision of a better future.

5. One purpose of **The Jungle** was to be a "muckraking" exposé of the meatpacking industry. How well does he achieve his goal?

6. Another purpose of **The Jungle** was to be propaganda piece for Socialism. How well did he achieve this goal?

7. Both Jurgis and Marija replaced sick and injured people in their first jobs. What is Sinclair trying to say in having this happen?

8. What is the role of Ona in the novel?

Allan G. Solomonson
with assistance from
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INDIA
UNIT OBJECTIVES
Film Resource: Gandhi

These objectives will give you an idea of the concepts covered in this unit and will help you in reviewing for tests. This is not an assignment sheet.

1. Locate the following places and geographic features on a map of South Asia. COUNTRIES: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Iran, China, Sri Lanka, Burma, Nepal, Bhutan. GEOGRAPHIC AREAS & FEATURES: Himalaya Mts., Western Ghats, Eastern Chats, Deccan Plateau, Ganges River, Indus River, Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal, Indian Ocean, Kashmir. CITIES: Delhi (New Delhi), Bombay, Amritsar, Agra, Varanasi (Benares), Calcutta, Madras.

2. Define the following and relate to Hinduism or religion: karma, dharma, reincarnation, samsara, moksha, atman, Brahman, yogi, sannyasi, monism, monotheism, polytheism, atheism, agnostic, guru, meditation.

3. Describe the historical role of castes and jati (subcastes) in the Hindu society of India. Identify the major caste groups: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Shudra, and Harijans.

4. Relate the jajmani system to the traditional Hindu values found in village India and how this system has allowed the traditional village to be self sufficient. Define: the panchayet.

5. Examine the diversity of religious thought in India. Identify and describe each of the following religions: Hinduism, Sikhism, Parsees, Christianity, and Islam.

6. Assess the impact of the Mughals on Indian history. Identify the following Mughal leaders: Babar, Humayan, Akbar, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb. Be able to tell something about the building and purpose of the Taj Mahal.

7. Evaluate the impact of British imperialism on India and the Indian reaction to it. Identify: maharajah, Sepoy, East India Company, "White Man's Burden"

8. Trace the significant events in the Indian struggle for independence from the British and relate the following to this struggle: Mohandas Gandhi, Congress Party, Rowlett Acts, Amritsar Massacre of 1919, World Wars I & II, Muslim League, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Jawaharalal Nehru.

9. Describe Gandhi's background, philosophy, and the tactics he used to gain independence from the British. Include the following: Salt March, satyagraha, boycott, non-violence, hartal (strike), civil disobedience.

10. Determine the impact that Gandhi and his followers have had on the rest of the world.

11. Explain the reasons for Indian partition in 1947 and analyze the problems this has caused in the subcontinent.

12. Identify the following and relate them to India in the twentieth century: the Nehru family, Moraji Desai, Mother Theresa of Calcutta, Congress (I) Party, Janata Party, Emergency Rule, the assassination of Indira Gandhi, India's role in world affairs.

13. Describe important characteristics of modern India. Include the following: political problems, communal and religious strife, diversity of cultures, population explosion, family planning, demographic transition.

14. Explain how the issues of modernization and westernization have caused political and social conflict in India's recent past.

World History Writing Lab Project

India

In 1919, shortly after the end of the world war, groups of Indian nationalists throughout India protested restrictions on free speech and assembly. By the Rowlatt Acts, the British even had the right to put Indians in jail without trial. The British issued a warning that further protests would not be tolerated. In the north Indian city of Amritsar, the British commander, General Dyer, ordered his troops to fire without warning on a crowd gathered to hear speeches against the British actions. This act was called the "Amritsar Massacre" by the Indian people.

YOUR TASK:

You are an Indian nationalist leader who wants India to be free from British rule. To speak out against the british is obviously dangerous. Regardless, you decide to deliver a speech in Calcutta shortly after the killings in Amritsar. This is an emotional issue to the Indian people, but you also want your audience to know what happened. More importantly, you want your audience to know many of the other reasons why India needs its independence. At an emotional time, you want to build a very logical case for independence.

CRITERIA:

A good speech will make references to specific points. For example, a speaker will refer to the Indian participation in the Great War (World War I) and why many thought it to be a noble cause. Many other similar points can be found.

A good speech will make a clear reference to Amritsar, but will not just dwell on the emotions of that event.

A good speech will have an apparent organization.

A good speech will be full of reason and evidence, so much in fact that the British will want to put you in jail and throw away the key.

PROCEDURE:

You will have a reading assignment giving you information and Indian feelings about this event.

You will get background on the British rule in a large group presentation.

You will view a short segment from the video "Gandhi" to show how film makers portrayed the Amritsar Massacre.

You will complete the attached tasks through the Writing Lab, Room 327, before you turn in a final draft to your World History instructor.

WRITING LAB TASK #1

Spend sometime reviewing your notes on the movement for Indian independence and the Amritsar Massacre. Using note cards, write down the major points that will help you write your speech on the need for Indian independence.

Visit the Writing Lab (Room 327) with your note cards in hand. Briefly explain the main points of your speech to the Writing Lab instructor. He will listen and help you decide if you have covered the key points of the issue.

Please get a signature below.

WLI____________________________________ Date__________

Comments:

WRITING LAB TASK #2

Write a rough draft of your speech on the need for an independent India. Bring the rough draft to the Writing Lab. Ask the Writing Lab instructor to read the first two or three paragraphs. He will help you decide if the speech appears to be clearly organized, with an effective introduction. He may ask you to revise or add as needed. Consider his advice. Get a signature below before you leave.

WLI____________________________________ Date__________

Comments:

NOTE: Now complete a final draft of your speech.

ESSAY - INDIA
TEACHER EVALUATION

Name ______________________________
Sm. Group Days ______ Mods ______
Teacher ____________________________

Note: Attach this sheet to the final draft of your essay. The order should be as follows: 1. final draft 2. rough draft with step #2 signed 3. step #1 signed (no note cards necessary)

GRADE AND COMMENTS

A _____ You did an excellent job of conveying the feelings of an Indian nationalist. You also gave reasoned arguments in favor of independence from the British. The British would have jailed you!

B _____ Your essay covered many of the issues and feelings that an Indian nationalist would want to convey.

C _____ Your speech was superficial in many respects even though some major points were outlined.

D _____ Your essay contained few points about the need for Indian independence from the British. It was weak throughout.

_____ Signature from Writing Lab Instructor lacking. Hand in when steps are completed as outlined in the directions.

Specific comments:

_____ lacking description of Amritsar Massacre

_____ need information other than description of what happened at Amritsar

_____ mistakes in such things as sentence structure, usage, and spelling

_____ inaccurate historical detail

Oscar Durkee
D. C. Everest High School

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FILM AND NOVEL IN THE CLASSROOM

Lesson Plan: ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT by Erik Remarque

Introduction: The goal of this activity is to enhance students' understanding of World War I. The students will read ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT and view the film. This will provide the class with a unique experience that will make the physical and psychological effects of the war more apparent.

Objectives:

1. The novel:
    a. To increase student understanding of World War I.
    b. To humanize the war so students have a better idea of the hardships the participants endured.
    c. To illustrate the destructive nature of the war.
2. The film:
    a. To compare the war as it was portrayed in the novel with the film.

Activities:

1. Read the novel
2. Worksheets
3. Complete chapter analysis
4. Discuss in small groups the novel by chapters
5. View the film
6. Compare worksheets
7. Large group discussion
8. Conclusion
9. Essay test

ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT - Discussion and reading schedule.

Day 1:	Group A	Discuss ch. 1-2-3
	Group B	Read ch. 4-5-6
Day 2:	Group A	Read ch. 4-5-6
	Group B	Discuss ch. 1-2-3
Day 3:	Group A	Discuss ch. 4-5-6
	Group B	Read ch. 7-8-9
Day 4:	Group A	Read ch. 7-8-9
	Group B	Discuss ch. 4-5-6
Day 5:	Group A	Discuss ch. 7-8-9
	Group B	Read ch. 10-11-12
Day 6:	Group A	Read ch. 10-11-12
	Group B	Discuss ch. 7-8-9
Day 7:	Group A	Discuss ch. 10-11-12
	Group B	Discuss ch. 10-11-12

Chapter Analysis:

Chapter: ____

Major purpose of the chapter:

Events:

People:

Places to remember:

Use these questions to guide your reading and understanding of the book. Preview questions before you begin to read.

CHAPTER 1

1. Name the 8 army friends introduced in this chapter. What occupations did each have before entering the army?
2. How do the boys feel about Kantorek? How did they feel about him while they were in school?
3. What is important about Joseph Behm's story?
4. What are the two reasons Muller wants Kemmerich's boots?

CHAPTER 2

1. What is important about the incidents which occur between the young soldiers and Himmelstoss during the boy's training?

2. What finally happens to Kemmerich?

3. How does the doctor react when Paul requests that he look at Kemmerich? What does this show us about how the army affects men?

CHAPTER 3

1. What talent does Kat have which makes him indispensable to his company? Give two examples of where he uses this talent.

2. Katczinsky and Kropp discuss how they feel the war should be fought. Even though they are obviously joking, there is one serious element they both have in their ideas. What is that element?

3. Why does Tjaden in particular hate Himmelstoss?

CHAPTER 4

1. Why is the earth so important to a soldier?

2. How does Paul treat the young recruit when he first meets him?

3. Why is the recruit so embarrassed after the shelling?

4. Why are all the men so upset about the horses?

5. Where do the soldiers hide during the attack?

CHAPTER 5

1. What would the following characters like to do if peace came:

   Hale
   Westhus
   Detering
   Katczinsky

2. What do Tjaden and Himmelstoss argue about?

3. How do the boys feel about the things they have learned in school? How has the war ruined them for their future?

CHAPTER 6

1. What are the coffins for?

2. Why do the men worry when they receive more cheese and rum than they usually do?

3. List three horrors of battle which Paul witnesses.

4. When night comes Paul has visions of his past life. What does he remember? Why do you think these images come to him now?

CHAPTER 7

1. What presents do the boys offer the French girls?

2. What had Paul's mother saved for his return?

3. Why can't Paul tell his mother about the war?

4. Why does Paul get angry with the Major he meets on the street?

5. Why can't Paul tell his father about the war?

6. What does Paul realize about himself when he sits in his room and looks at his books?

CHAPTER 8

1. Why does Paul appreciate the woods now?

CHAPTER 9

1. "There is a great deal of polishing being done. We are inspected at every turn. Everything that is torn is exchanged." What is happening?

2. Paul and his friends are talking of war again. How do they start? What do they say is the cause of war?

3. They are also talking about leaders and emperors. How does one judge if one is a good leader or a good emperor?

4. Once Paul returns from his leave he goes back to the front. He must once again get involved in the "action." However, something has happened. What is it?

5. What is "intelligent fear?"

6. What does Paul learn about himself when he encounters the Frenchman in the trench?

7. After the trench episode is over, what does Paul vow to do as a result of this? How do his friends react to his tale?

CHAPTER 10

1. What did one learn of the medical profession and its facilities. Give two examples to make your point.

2. Why was watching the "supply dump" a good job for Paul and his company? Give three examples of what made it "good."

3. Josef Hamacher takes the blame for throwing the bottle at the sisters. Why?

4. Who returns from the dying room? Why is this so unusual?

5. Why do Paul and Albert have to part company at the end of the chapter?

CHAPTER 11-12

1. What happened to Detering? Why?

2. What has happened to Mueller? The Boots?

3. What has happened to Katz?

4. What is the significance of the title of the book?

▸ There are eleven major characters introduced in Chapters 1-3. They are: Paul Baumer, Kantorek, Katczinsky, Westhus, Leer, Kropp, Kemmerich, Detering, Himmelstoss, Tjaden, and Muller.

Beneath each of the following passages, write the name of the character who is being described. You may refer to your book. Then, to the right of each name, list one additional characteristic of each individual.

1. "He finds everything—if it is cold, a small stove and wood, hay and straw, a table and chairs—but above all food."

   Name: Characteristic:

2. "I can see him now, as he used to glare at us through his spectacles and say in a moving voice: "Won't you join up, Comrades?"

   Name: Characteristic:

3. "They have amputated my leg."

   Name: Characteristic:

4. "He had the reputation of being the strictest disciplinarian in the camp, and was proud of it. He was a small undersized fellow with a foxy, waxed moustache, who had seen twelve years' service and was in civil life a postman."

   Name: Characteristic:

5. "It is strange to think that at home in the drawer of my writing table there lies the beginning of a play called 'Saul' and a bundle of poems"

   Name: Characteristic:

6. "...a peasant, who thinks of nothing but his farmyard and his wife."

   Name: Characteristic:

7. "...who still carries his school textbooks with him, dreams of examinations, and during a bombardment mutters propositions in physics."

   Name: Characteristic:

▸ The following underlined words are used in Chapter 1–6 of your book. Beside each word is its definition.

console: to comfort; to make less painful
vortex: a whirlpool; a whirling mass of irresistible force
camouflage: to disguise or cover up
reverberation: to resound, as in echoes
diminish: to make less
martinet: a very strict disciplinarian
claustrophobia: fear of closed places
insubordination: disobedience
decorum: conformity to accepted standards of conduct
theoretical: existing only in theory
intolerable: unbearable
obliterate: wipe out; erase

Using the words from the list above, fill in the blanks in the questions below. Then, in the space beneath each sentence, write a new sentence using that vocabulary word correctly.

1. "They have hardly any training, and are sent into the field with only a _____ knowledge."
2. "In himself man is essentially a beast, only he butters it over like a slice of bread with a little _____."
3. "Though I am instill water far away from its center, I feel the whirl of the _____ sucking me slowly, irresistibly, inescapably into itself."
4. "The bombardment does not _____ ...As far as one can see spout fountains of mud and iron."
5. "In one hour he will become one screaming bundle of _____ pain. Every day that he can live will be a howling torture."
6. "The roar of the guns makes our lorry stagger, the _____ rolls raging away to the rear, everything quakes."
7. "It is no use any more. No one can _____ him. I am wretched with hopelessness."
8. D"They have wives, children, occupations, and interests, they have a background which is so strong that the war cannot _____ it."
9. "The gun-emplacements are _____ with bushes against aerial observation..."
10. "It is a case of _____, he feels as though he is suffocating here and wants to get out at any price."
11. "I have to appear as a witness and explain the reason of Tjaden's _____."
12. "It is very queer that the unhappiness of the world is so often brought on by small men. They are so much more energetic and uncompromising than the big fellows....The are mostly confounded little _____."

- Read pages 25-29. Place an X beside the statements below which show how the boys felt about their military training.

____ 1. The boys believed that the ten weeks of training in the army made more of an impression on them than their ten years of schooling.

____ 2. The boys developed a feeling of comradeship during their training period.

____ 3. None of the boys felt his training was too difficult.

____ 4. If the boys had not had this training, Paul felt they would have gone mad in the trenches during the battles.

____ 5. The boys discovered that all the corporals at the training camp were kind and understanding.

____ 6. The boys felt some of the things they learned at training camp were necessary, and some were just for show.

- List three tasks Paul was ordered to do by Himmelstoss at the training camp.

- How did Paul and Kropp finally conquer Himmelstoss? (pages 28-29)

- Write two sentences explaining why you think Paul feels esprit de corps (comradeship) was "the finest thing that arose out of the war."

James Briggs
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THE GRAPES OF WRATH
by John Steinbeck

Literature and The Bill of Rights

Name______________________________
Due____________ SG_______________

DIRECTIONS: Construct a position paper about the fairness of the hiring practices described and illustrated in the "handbills" episode of The Grapes of Wrath. You must use at least 4 of the following "rights phrases" in your argument.

1. ". . . clear and present danger . . ."
2. ". . . will they (the words) bring about substantive evils . . ."
3. ". . . a direct incitement of violence . . ."
4. ". . . the gravity of the evil, discounted by its improbability . . ."
5. ". . . invasion of free speech . . ."
6. ". . . inciting or producing imminent lawless action . . ."
7. ". . . inflicting emotional harm . . ."

DIRECTIONS: Read carefully the excerpt from John Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath and pp. 13-17 of your pamphlet The Bill of Rights. Then answer the following questions.

1. In what ways was the message on the handbills true? False?

2. Should this type of worker recruitment be regarded as protected or unprotected speech?

3. Are the handbills "damaging speech," and do they create a "clear and present danger" to anyone?

4. How might Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' words ". . . the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done . . ." apply to the printing and distribution of the handbills?

5. Discuss the "gravity" and "probability" of any alleged evil caused by the handbills.

6. To what extent (if any) were the handbills a) intended to, or b) likely to produce harm? What kind, and how severe?

7. Does an employer have any obligation to employees beyond the actual time(s) or employment? Explain your answer.

Literature and The Bill of Rights

Name______________________________
Due_____________ SG_______________

DIRECTIONS: Prepare and deliver a debate brief for one of the following.

RESOLVED: The "Pickers Wanted" handbills described in The Grapes of Wrath were a legitimate recruitment effort; none of the Constitutional issues discussed in the Bill of Rights apply.

-OR-

RESOLVED: The "Pickers Wanted" handbills described in The Grapes of Wrath constitute a violation of free speech, as supported by various applications of the Bill of Rights and its court interpretations.

DIRECTIONS: Use The Bill of Rights pamphlet and The Grapes of Wrath excerpt provided to answer the following questions.

1. Explain the injustices that the young man saw with the massive circulation of handbills offering jobs.
2. Use references to specific amendments, amendment phrases and amendment interpretations to support the right of those distributing the handbills.
3. Use references to specific amendments, amendment phrases, and amendment interpretations to support the right/responsibility of the government to prevent or regulate the handbill distribution practices.
4. What is your opinion on the issue? Why?
5. What gives the federal government the right to regulate any labor practices?
6. How/why can schools assign readings that includes words like "goddamn" and phrases like "son-of-a-bitch" and then prohibit students from speaking those words in classrooms and hallways or from wearing them on T shirts?

Jack Frederick
James Johnson
Mary Rusch
Wausau East High School

"DREAMS TURNED TO DUST"
Dustbowl of the 1930s

The Grapes of Wrath — Dust Bowl

PREVIEW OF THE MAIN IDEAS:

Nature and the Economy combined to deal the Great Plains a devastating blow. Periods of drought had occurred before on the Great Plains many times in the past and winds were ever present. Why then did the Dust Bowl occur? To what extent did the farmers themselves contribute to the problem? What effect did the period of the 1930s and the Great Depression add to this disaster? What were the short and long term effects of this disaster? Can it happen again?

OBJECTIVES:

After participating in various activities, reading several articles, seeing the film "Grapes of Wrath," viewing photos taken during the 1930s, and viewing the video tape "Dreams turned to Dust," the student will be able to:

1. Explain how years of drought were caused by environmental conditions and activities by man.
2. Describe how drought affected the people of the Great Plains.
3. Consider the measures taken then and since the 1930s to prevent future Dust Bowls.
4. Describe what is happening on the Great Plains today as modern farmers use underground water and alternative "crops."

OBJECTIVES — FILM — GRAPES OF WRATH

After viewing the film students will be able to:

1. Understand the affect of the drought on the lives of the sharecroppers such as the Joads.
2. Describe the harshness of the poverty of the migrant workers and homeless.
3. Understand the labor issues of the 1930s especially in California.
4. Consider the ways the government was able to help poor people.

U.S. History II

AFTER VIEWING THE FILM "THE GRAPES OF WRATH" ANSWER USING DETAILS YOU REMEMBER, ONE OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS (IN INK).

1. Describe a "new last scene based on what you've seen in the film so far.
2. Describe in detail a scene or scenes that shows the poverty of the "OKIES" (Joad Family).
3. Describe the attachment to the land that these sharecroppers had. What did moving do to the family?
4. Describe in detail what effect the Depression had on the Joad family. (Good/Bad?)

U.S. History II

Creative Writing Assignment

AFTER VIEWING "THE GRAPES OF WRATH" CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:

1. Why did they make the film the Grapes of Wrath?
2. Is there any similarity to today's homeless and the Okies?

Barbara Erdman
Wausau West, East High Schools

HOLLYWOOD FILMS IN THE CLASSROOM

During the course of the past school year, I used the following four Hollywood films in my history classes. Not the usual historical fiction docudramas or straight documentaries, these films represented historical subjects in fictional settings and were made during the years we studied for popular entertainment.

The use of these films provided a number valuable educational insights into the everyday life of the 1940s and early 1950s. The students were directed to imagine they were going back in time through the movies. I asked them to observe not only the historical references but also the attitudes, slang expressions, sets and styles as well. They became film critics and historians looking at the motivations behind the plots and the methods used by screenwriters and directors.

Because of time constraints and my aversion to showing feature length films in the classroom, I showed only the sections of these films that were appropriate to our historical needs. There is never a need to show 90 minutes of film when you only want to showcase a particular 15 minute section. Raised on a video society, our students are no longer thrilled to spend continuous class periods watching movies. They will be more focused on particular pertinent examples used sparingly.

THE MORTAL STORM - MGM 1940

- American view of Nazism; all the stereotypes covered
- entertaining plot with famous 1930s - 1940s "stars"
- used in World History, AP European History and IB European History

TENDER COMRADE - RKO 1943

- World War II homefront, women in the factories
- loaded with pro - US war propaganda
- used in US History II

THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES - Samuel Goldwyn 1946

- Academy Award Winner; the WWII soldiers come home
- thoughtful account of real post-war problems
- used in US History II

Michael Maher
Michael Rebhahn
Wausau East High School

THE NORTH STAR
(1943)

Lesson Plan

MATERIALS
1. Videotape - The North Star
2. Text - World History, the Human Adventure, Mounir Fai & Andrea Berens Karls; Glencoe, Macmillan/McGraw-Hill; New York, NY 1994

OBJECTIVES:
Students will be able to
1. Summarize the plot of The North Star
2. Identify major themes of The North Star
3. Describe the historical context in which the film was made
4. Hypothesize as to the purpose of the film
5. Suggest the effect of the film upon American audience of the time
6. Discuss whether the film was intended to shape U.S. opinion or whether it was shaped by U.S. opinion

METHODS:
1. Students will read the text; Chapter 28, Section 4, pp. 737-740, and Chapter 30, pp. 772-798
2. Show selected portions of The North Star
3. Stop and discuss various scenes and events within the film in their historical perspective
4. Require students to write a short paper in which they evaluate the film as a work of historical significance considering the plot, themes, historical realities, propaganda value, and effects of the work

William Mundt
Northland Lutheran High School

Lesson Plan for the Film: BEN HUR

A. THE COURSE

World History, 2 semesters, elective taken by most freshmen or sophomores. We cover ancient, medieval, and modern history.

B. THE UNIT

D.C. HEATH *WORLD HISTORY: PERSPECTIVES ON THE PAST*
UNIT 2: THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD
This unit covers the Greeks, the Roman Republic, the Roman Empire and the spread of Christianity. This film is the culminating activity of the unit. Including my introduction and conclusion, this film takes 5 class periods.

C. THE FILM

BEN HUR 1959: Written by Lew Wallace, released by MGM, viewing time 3:31. Released by Turner Media in 1989 as a color VHS video. I do not show the overture at the beginning, which is quite lengthy.

D. PURPOSES OF SHOWING THIS FILM

1. This film is very entertaining, and serves as a reward for the hard work done in the previous unit.

2. An effective learning experience, it serves to introduce the concept of "learning with videos."

3. It shows clothing, customs, transportation, attitudes, mores, lifestyles, architecture, and tactics.

As noted below, students remember what they have seen because of the effective presentation.

4. This film shows how Hollywood can "do" good history; it also shows how and why errors and anachronistic influences creep in.

E. EPISODES HIGHLIGHTED

1. The opening sequence: the birth of Christ. I point out to the students that the shepherds and wisemen are put in the same scene, even though they did not arrive at the same time, and what the author's reason is for doing this.
2. The sequence where the Roman Tribune arrives in Jerusalem. This shows both the strengths and weaknesses of the Roman Empire, and of colonialism in general.

3. The sequence with the slaves of Ben Hur. I point out the differences between ancient and American slavery, and some of the less obvious evils of slavery, especially from a Christian point of view.
4. The sequence where the Roman Governor is accidentally injured, and Ben Hur is framed for political purposes. I highlight the evils of colonialism/imperialism.
5. The "galley slave" episode. I have found that talking about galleys has little effect. Watching this episode teaches the whole "world" of galleys, ancient naval warfare, and galley slaves for life.
6. The episode in Rome. I draw attention to the Roman Triumph, Banquet, adoption, and architecture. These things have been read and discussed, but now they are seen in an effective context.
7. The episode at the oasis. I point out that this film, made in 1959, had an ulterior motive, the promotion of harmony between modern Israel and the Arabs. I note the various things which support this hypothesis, and also some of the "arab" mannerisms which predate Islam yet are "Islamic."
8. Leprosy. We discuss it in a Biblical, historical, and contemporary (AIDS) context.
9. The "gambling" episode. Again we note the Imperialism, and the promotion of Arab-Israeli unity.
10. The chariot race. I point out the architectural authenticity, the role of the governor, and the colors. These (blue, red, black) are historically accurate, but they are also COLD WAR colors. I note some other cold war references in the film.
11. The crucifixion. I note that is Scriptural (historical), and what is not.
12. I also at some time in the introduction discuss the reason for writing the book on which the film was based, and the author. There are several religious and historical threads here.

F. STUDENT RESPONSE

I do not test the students on this film directly. However, we take the Unit Test after the film is shown. Many references to the film are made by the students in their essays, and invariably they are accurate historically. The film really ties the Unit together. To a lesser but still significant extent, this can be seen in the Semester Test a month or so later. During the film, the students demonstrate their interest. Afterwards, the discussions indicate their enjoyment and understanding. In later discussions of slavery, colonialism/imperialism, and the Middle East, there will still be references to the film. My conclusion is that the film is a very effective teaching and learning tool.

Appendix 1

Assessing Civic Discourse

FIGURE 1

Performance Criteria for Civic Discourse

SUBSTANTIVE

- States and identifies issues
- Uses foundational knowledge
- Stipulates claims or definitions
- Elaborates statements with explanations, reasons, or evidence
- Recognizes values or value conflict
- Argues by analogy

PROCEDURAL

Positive

- Acknowledges the statements of others
- Challenges the accuracy, logic, relevance, or clarity of statements
- Summarizes points of agreement and disagreement
- Invites contributions from others

Negative

- Makes irrelevant, distracting statements
- Interrupts
- Monopolizes the conversation
- Engages in personal attack

FIGURE 2

Scoring Rubric for Assessing Civic Discourse

	Exemplary (3)	Adequate (2)	Minimal (1)	Unacceptable (0)
SUBSTANTIVE	Weighs multiple perspectives on a policy issue and considers the public good; or uses relevant knowledge to analyze an issue; or employs a higher order discussion strategy, such as argument by analogy, stipulation, or resolution of a value conflict.	Demonstrates knowledge of important ideas related to the issue, or explicitly states an issue for the group to consider, or presents more than one viewpoint, or supports a position with reasons or evidence.	Makes statements about the issue that express only personal attitudes, or mentions a potentially important idea but does not pursue it in a way that advances the group's understanding.	Remains silent, or contributes no thoughts of his or her own, or makes only irrelevant comments.
PROCEDURAL	Engages in more than one sustained interchange, or summarizes and assesses the progress of the discussion. Makes no comments that inhibit others' contributions, and intervenes if others do this.	Engages in an extended interchange with at least one other person, or paraphrases important statements as a transition or summary, or asks another person for an explanation or clarification germane to the discussion. Does not inhibit others' contributions.	Invites contributions implicitly or explicitly, or responds constructively to ideas expressed by at least one other person. Tends not to make negative statements.	Makes no comments that facilitate dialogue, or makes statements that are primarily negative in character.

After the Fact: The Art of Historical Dectection

Davidson
Lytle

McGraw Hill

CHAPTER NINE

USDA Government Inspected

All of our essays tell a story and this one is no exception. But our present tale, by its very nature, partakes in large measure of the epic and the symbolic. It is a political tale, compiled largely from the accounts of politicians and the journalists who write about politicians, which is to say, it possesses much of the charm and innocence of a good, robust fairy tale. As we shall shortly discover, there are logical reasons for such larger-than-life overtones, and they deserve serious scrutiny. But the story must come first: an exciting tale of a bold president, an earnest reformer, some evil political bosses, and a lot of pork and beef.

It begins ("once upon a time") with the president, Teddy Roosevelt, who turns out to be the hero of the tale. There was nothing ordinary about Teddy, including the fact he was ever president at all. People from the Roosevelts' social class disdained politics and would never encourage their sons to take it up as a profession. But then again Teddy was not like other members of his social class nor his fellow students at Harvard. Anything he did, he did with gusto, and if being the best meant being president, then Teddy would not stop short of the White House.

His path to success was not an easy one. As a child Teddy was sickly, asthmatic, and nearsighted. He spent long hours pummelling punching bags, swinging on parallel bars, doing pushups, and boxing in the ring to build a body as active as his mind. When he went west in the 1880s to take up ranching, he had to overcome his image as an effete eastern "dude." He soon amazed many a grizzly cowboy by riding the Dakota badlands in spring mud, blasts of summer heat, and driving winter storms. He fought with his fists and once rounded up a band of desperados at gunpoint.

Back East, when Teddy played tennis, he showed the same determination, his record being 91 games in a single day. When he led the Rough Riders through Cuba in 1898, he raised troop morale by walking the sentry line whistling cheerfully while his men crouched low to avoid the bullets flying overhead. As President he advised others to speak softly and carry a big stick.

***TR. displaying characteristic gritted teeth** and holding a moderately big stick. When he spoke, Roosevelt chopped every word into neat, staccato syllables, with a rhythm that bore no resemblance to the ordinary cadences of the English language. "I always think of a man biting tenpenny nails when I think of Roosevelt making a speech," remarked one acquaintance.*

though he himself more often observed only the latter half of his maxim. Teddy's favorite expressions, seldom spoken softly, were "Bully!" and "*Dee*-lighted!"—uttered because he usually got his way.

By 1906 Teddy had the White House firmly in his grasp. Just two years earlier he had engineered an impressive victory to become president in his own right. He had behind him a record of achievements to which he would soon add the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in bringing an end to the Russo-Japanese war. But Teddy could never rest on his laurels. In February a storm broke that challenged his skill as leader of both the nation and the Republican Party.

The thunder clap that shattered the calm was the publication of *The Jungle*. The book told a lurid tale about Chicago's meatpacking industry. Its author, Upton Sinclair, was not only a reformer but a socialist as well. Most Americans of the day believed that socialists were subversives who held extreme and impractical opinions. Despite that skepticism, readers could not ignore the grisly realities recounted in *The Jungle*. It related, in often revolting detail, the conditions under which the packers processed pork and beef, adulterated it, and shipped it to millions of American consumers.

Breakfast sausage, Sinclair revealed, was more than a tasty blend of ground meats and spices. "It was too dark in these storage spaces to see clearly," he reported,

Hogs being scalded *preparatory to scraping at a Swift and Company plant, 1905. The packers boasted that they used every bit of the pig "except the squeal," and they were probably more than right, given some of the extraneous ingredients that went into the canned goods of the period. Although modern viewers may be taken aback at the unsanitary appearance of the plant, this photograph was a promotional shot illustrating some of the better conditions in packing facilities.*

> but a man could run his hands over the piles of meat and swap off handfuls of dry dung of rats. These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put out poisoned bread for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go in the hoppers together. This is no fairy story and no joke; the meat would be shoveled into carts, and the man who did the shoveling did not trouble to lift out a rat, even when he saw one.

Rats were but one tasty additive in the meat sent to dinner tables. Potted chicken contained no chicken at all, only beef suet, waste ends of veal, and tripe. Most shocking of all, Sinclair told of men in cooking rooms who fell into vats and, after being cooked for days, "all but the bones had gone out into the world as Durham's Pure Leaf Lard!"

In just one week a scandalized public had snapped up some 25,000 copies of *The Jungle*. Almost all of those readers missed the socialist message. Sinclair had hoped to draw their attention to "the conditions under which toilers get their bread." The public had responded instead to the disclosures about corrupt federal meat inspectors, unsanitary slaughterhouses, tubercular cattle, and the packers' unscrupulous business practices.

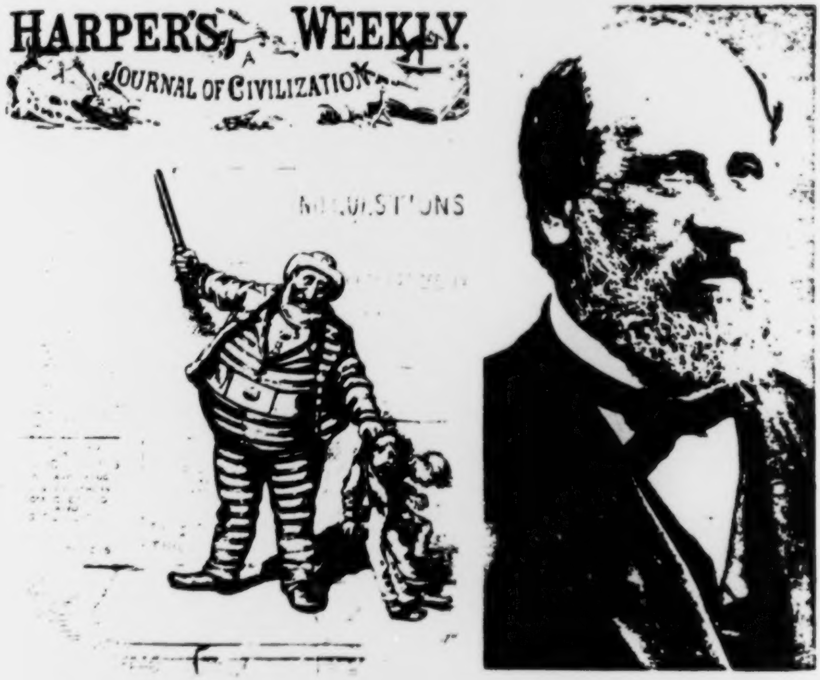
One of the most outraged readers was President Theodore Roosevelt. Few politicians have ever been as well-informed as TR, who devoured books at over 1,500 words per minute, published works of history, and corresponded regularly with leading business, academic, and public figures. Roosevelt recognized immediately that the public would expect government at some level—local, state, or federal—to clean up the meat industry. He invited Sinclair for a talk at the White House, and though he dismissed the writer's "pathetic belief" in socialism, he promised that "the specific evils you point out shall, if their existence be proved, and if I have the power, be eradicated."

Roosevelt kept his promise. With the help of allies in Congress, he quickly brought out a new bill, along with the proverbial big stick. Only four months later, on June 30, he signed into law a Meat Inspection Act that banned the packers from using any unhealthy dyes, chemical preservatives, or adulterants. The bill provided $3 million toward a new, tougher inspection system, where government inspectors could be on hand day or night to condemn animals unfit for human consumption. Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana, Roosevelt's progressive ally in Congress, gave the president credit for the new bill. "It is chiefly to him that we owe the fact that we will get as excellent a bill as we will have," he told reporters. Once again, Americans could put canned meats and sausages on the dinner table and eat happily ever after. Or so it would seem.

The Symbols of Politics

The story you have just read is true—as far as it goes. If it has taken on a legendary, even mythic quality in the telling, that is understandable given the nature of the American political system. Politics is, after all, public business. And the tales of national politics almost inescapably take on epic proportions. In such situations, symbolic language serves to simplify highly complex realities. It makes them more comprehensible by substituting concrete and recognizable actors and objects in the place of complicated, though often banal, situations. In doing so, symbols and symbolic language serve as a means of communication between political leaders and their constituencies. Skillful politicians generally have the ability to cast their actions in dramatic terms that speak to deeply felt public concerns.

Jacksonian Democrats pioneered many of the modern uses of campaign imagery. They touted their candidate, "Old Hickory," as the symbolic embodiment of the American frontier tradition. In their hands Jackson became the



Boss William Tweed of New York, *in life and in art. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, cartoons played an important part in defining the symbols of political discourse. Occasionally the representations were readily recognizable in more than a symbolic sense. When Tweed fled the United States to escape a jail term, he was arrested in an out-of-the-way Spanish village. The Spanish constables, it turned out, had recognized him from this Thomas Nast cartoon. The symbolic aspect of the drawing escaped them, however: they thought they had apprehended a notorious child kidnapper.*

uncommon "Common Man." As president, he waged war against the Second Bank of the United States, fittingly symbolized by its enemies as the "Monster Bank." His Whig opposition had quickly grasped the use of such symbols; they nominated a popular general of their own, William Henry "Tippecanoe" Harrison. Their campaign rhetoric invoked the "log cabin" motif and other appropriate frontier images, even though Harrison came from a distinguished Virginia family and lived in an elegant house. Thus along with a two-party system of politics, Americans had developed a body of symbols to make complex political issues familiar and comprehensible to the voters.

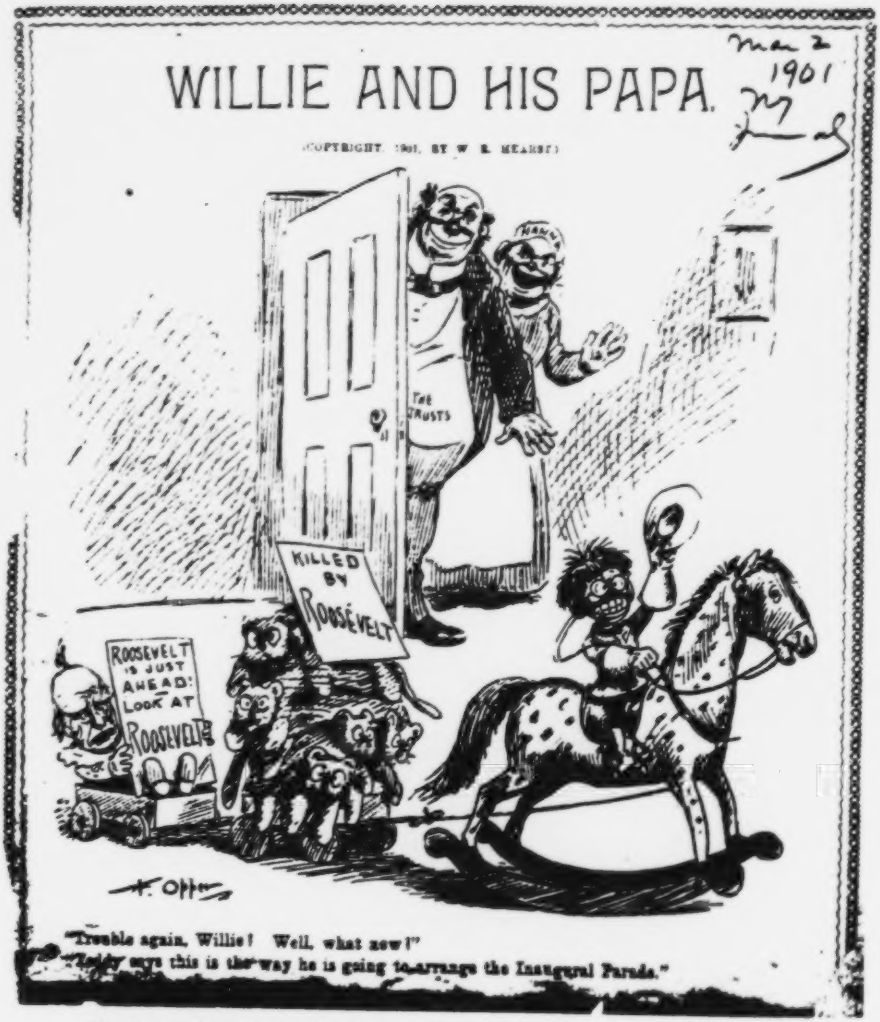
Symbols as a mode of political discourse took on a new meaning with an art form that reached maturity in the late nineteenth century—the political cartoon.

Earlier cartoonists had portrayed Old Hickory's epic struggle with the Monster Bank, but they lacked the sophistication and draftsmanship achieved by Gilded Age caricaturists like Thomas Nast. Week after week, newspapers carried cartoons which established readily identifiable symbols. Nast conceived the elephant as a representation of the GOP (the Republicans, or Grand Old Party) and the donkey for the Democrats. To Nast and his fellow cartoonists we owe our image of the political boss, decked out in his gaudy suit that assumes a striking resemblance to a convict's striped outfit. So too, we have the Monopolist or greedy capitalist, his huge, bloated waistline taking on the aspect of a bag of silver dollars. A scraggly beard, overalls, and wild, crazed eyes denoted the Populist. In place of the Monster Bank stood the Trust, vividly pictured as a grasping octopus. Such cartoons by their very nature communicated the political symbolism of their day.

The cartoonists seldom had a better subject than Teddy Roosevelt with his gleaming, oversized front teeth, bull neck, pince-nez glasses, and, of course, his big stick. Caricaturists did not have to stretch the imagination much to cast Teddy larger than life; he specialized in that department long before he reached the White House. There was the gun-toting cowboy, the New York police commissioner in his long, black cape, and the Rough Rider charging up Tea Kettle Hill. Thus it was easy during the political battles of the Progressive Era to conceive of the actors in symbolic terms. In one corner stood the reformers: Roosevelt, a policeman, clubbing the opposition with his big stick, or Sinclair, wild-eyed like all political radicals. In the other corner, during the meat inspection fight, stood the Beef Trust—Armour, Swift, and the other packers bloated by their ill-gotten gains.

Yet as we have already noted, such symbolic representations inevitably oversimplify the political process to the point of distortion. As rendered by the cartoonist, shades of gray become black and white, and political conflict becomes a Manichaean struggle between good and evil. Even more subtly, distortion arises because symbols come to personalize complex situations and processes. Inanimate institutions (trusts, political machines, Congress) appear as animate objects (a grasping octopus, predatory tigers, braying donkeys) with human motives and designs.

Consequently we tend to visualize political events as being primarily the result of individuals' actions. The story of the meat inspection law is reduced to the tale of Roosevelt, Sinclair, and their enemies. The progression, as we saw, is quite simple: (1) Sinclair's revelations scandalize the president; (2) Roosevelt determines to reform the law; (3) with his usual energy, he overwhelms the opposition and saves the consumer. Such an explanation masks the crucial truth that the actors, whether individuals, groups, or institutions, often have mixed motives and multiple objectives. The outcome of a situation may bear slight resemblance to the original design of any of the participants. As a result, symbolic explanations do not adequately portray the labyrinth of negotiations and institutional hurdles that shape the political process, sometimes to the point of determining the outcome.


WILLIE AND HIS PAPA.
(COPYRIGHT, 1901, BY W. R. HEARST.)
Mar 2 1901 NY Journal
HANNA
THE TRUSTS
KILLED BY ROOSEVELT
ROOSEVELT IS JUST AHEAD! LOOK AT ROOSEVELT'S
F. Opper
"Trouble again, Willie! Well, what now!"
"Teddy says this is the way he is going to arrange the Inaugural Parade."

Caricaturists had a field day *with Roosevelt's energetic and good-natured self-aggrandizement. In this cartoon by Frederick Opper, Vice-President-elect Roosevelt has rearranged the Inaugural Parade of 1901 so that President William McKinley is forced to bring up the rear. Teddy, of course, displays his teeth as well as a load of hunting trophies from western exploits, while the characteristic Trust figure looms in the background as "Willie's Papa."*

Political historians, then, must handle symbolic language and explanations with caution. They cannot simply dismiss or debunk the symbolism, for it can, by influencing opinion, affect the political process. At the same time, historians cannot allow symbols to obscure the information necessary to narrate and explain political events. Granted that Roosevelt played the reformer in seeking to curb the packers' worst abuses, how successfully did he translate his intentions into an effective political instrument? Senator Beveridge, it is true, praised both the new law and the president's role in securing its passage. Yet other supporters of inspection reform did not share Beveridge's enthusiasm. "The American consumer and the ordinary American farmer have been left out of the question," Senator Knute Nelson complained shortly after the act passed. "I must say I feel disappointed. . . . When I go home I will go home like a licked dog."

In fact, prominent Republicans in the Senate led by Beveridge himself and Roosevelt's good friend, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, had fought to defeat the law only a few days before Roosevelt signed it. They believed, as Nelson had argued, that the bill was intended "to placate the packers, next to placate the men who raise cattle; and, third to get a good market for the packers abroad." In short, many senators viewed the Meat Inspection Act as a victory for the packers and a defeat for reform. In that light Beveridge's praise has a symbolic meaning that our story thus far cannot explain.

So the historian must seek to set aside the mythic story and its symbols in order to reconstruct the institutional setting in which the real story unfolded. Individual actions must be made to square with motives. The outcome must be treated not as the inevitable triumph of good over evil but as just one of the many possible outcomes, and not necessarily the best at that. It is also the political historian's task to determine how the complex procedural tangle by which a bill becomes law limits the impact of individual actors no matter how lofty or base their motives.

The Tangle behind The Jungle

The mythic tale of the Meat Inspection Act begins with the publication of *The Jungle* in February 1906. That, so the story goes, was the catalytic event that sparked outrage against the packers and their unscrupulous methods. Yet, while *The Jungle* certainly provoked a public outcry, we may legitimately wonder whether a single dramatic story could by itself generate such widespread controversy. For better or worse, we have no Gallup polls from 1906 to measure public response to Sinclair's lurid exposé. But if we poke around in earlier stories about the meat industry, we find that *The Jungle* was merely a final straw, albeit a weighty one, in a long train of unfavorable publicity directed against the packers.

As early as the 1870s some European governments had begun to bar importation of what they had found were unhealthy American meat products. Over the years American exports declined as the Europeans tightened their restrictions. In 1891 the worried packers persuaded Congress to pass a federal meat inspection act in order to win back their foreign customers. The federal stamp would show that all meats in interstate and foreign sales had been subjected to antemortem (preslaughter) inspection. That measure succeeded until 1897, when the "embalmed meat" scandals once again tarnished the industry's reputation. The packers who supplied American soldiers fighting in Cuba had sold the army quantities of rotten and chemically adulterated meats. As the commander of the Rough Riders, Colonel Teddy Roosevelt had seen troops die from poisonous meats as well as Spanish bullets.

Roosevelt had not forgotten what he interpreted as treachery. In 1905 he found an opportunity to punish the packers. He ordered his attorney general to bring suit against the packing house trust under the Sherman Antitrust Act. The President was particularly offended by the packers' brazen disregard for public

Roosevelt with his Rough Riders. *TR's distrust of the packers reached as far back as the Spanish-American War, when packers had sold the American army quantities of rotten and chemically adulterated meats. Humorist Finley Peter Dunne took note of the situation—as well as the disorganized state of the regular army—when he had his fictional Irish bartender, Mr. Dooley, remark on the invincible American army of "injineers, miners, plumbers, an' lawn tinnis experts, numberin' in all four hundhred an' eighty thousand men," sent to do battle against the Spanish "ar-rmed with death-dealin' canned goods."*

safety In building their industry into one of the nation's ten largest. Ar Swift, and others boasted openly that they used every bit of the pig exce squeal." Roosevelt was therefore beside himself when he heard that the had dismissed the government's suit on narrow procedural grounds. Susp that the packers had bribed the judge, he instructed his attorney gen release a confidential report revealing perjury in the beef trust case. Ro scarcely needed to read *The Jungle* to believe that with their pub damned" attitude the meat barons might be guilty of any manner of irres ble behavior. *The Jungle* merely provided a new weapon for his ongoin

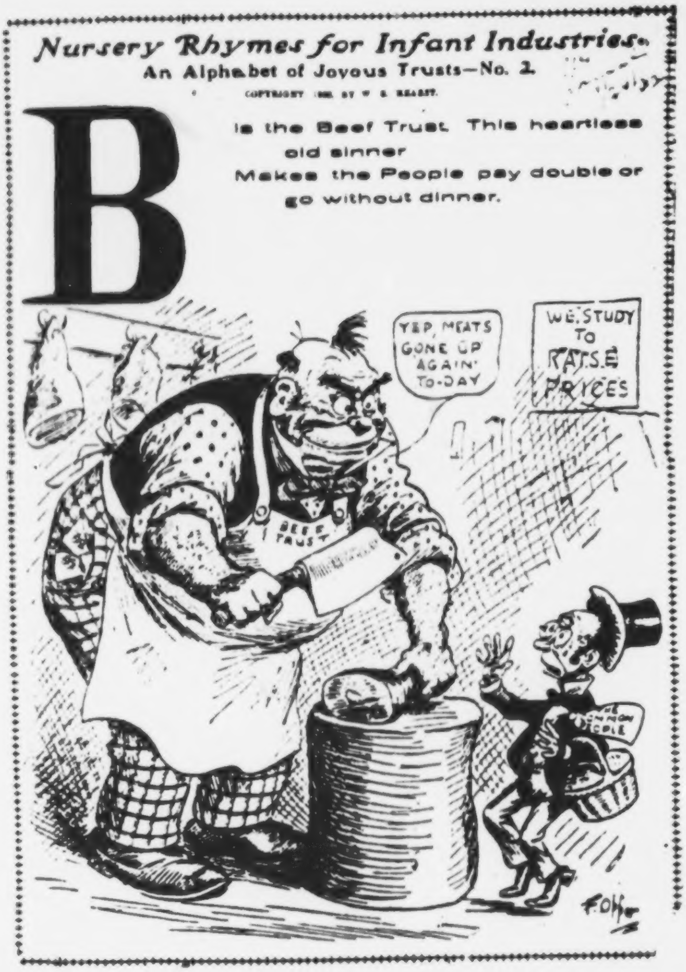
Furthermore, the president recognized that the existing meat inspecti left much to be desired. Under it, Congress allocated money for an insp force, but those appropriations were usually inadequate. Given the l funds, most inspectors worked only during the day, leaving the packers commit their worst abuses at night. Even if inspectors did find diseased antemortem inspection, they had no power to have the animals destro fact, the packers made considerable profit selling those tainted animals t plants not under federal supervision.

The federal government actually had almost no authority over the p Nothing under the system forced compliance with government standar inspectors could only threaten to leave the premises (and take their stam them) if the packers ignored their rulings. And though the law did prev industry from exporting meat without the federal stamp of approval, th no similar provision to protect American consumers. Once a carcass pas inspector, the government had no further power to impose sanitary sta anywhere in the plants. Roosevelt was aware of these deficiencies and e see them corrected.

The public, too, had grounds for suspicion even before *The Jungle* bookstores. Sinclair's accusations had already been published in a p socialist journal. In doing his research, Sinclair had received informati *The Lancet*, a distinguished British medical journal which had inve earlier meat industry scandals. In 1905, *The Lancet* renewed its investig packing house filth which jeopardized both workers and consumers same time, Samuel Merwyn, a well-known muckraking journalist, had articles charging the packers with deliberately selling diseased meats.

To understand the impact of *The Jungle*, the historian must place context of the popular muckraking style of journalism. Having discove the public possessed an almost insatiable appetite for sensational stori ing journalists had set out to investigate corruption wherever they coul They had exposed the boss-dominated urban political machines, graft in ment, greedy senators, Wall Street stock frauds, prostitution, quack patent medicines, women's inequality, child labor abuses, dangerous conditions, and a host of other social ills.

The muckrakers had much in common with the political cartoonist villains made convenient, easily recognizable symbols. Evil could be per as the Monster Trust, the Self-serving Politician, or the Avaricious Capital an approach, while gratifying readers' love of lurid details, seldom g heart of social problems. In their indignant style muckrakers told Ar


Nursery Rhymes for Infant Industries.
An Alphabet of Joyous Trusts—No. 2.
COPYRIGHT 1902 BY W. R. HEARST.
B is the Beef Trust. This heartless old sinner
Makes the People pay double or go without dinner.
YEP, MEATS GONE UP AGAIN TO-DAY
WE STUDY TO RAISE PRYCES
BEEF TRUST
THE COMMON PEOPLE
F. Opper

"An Alphabet of Joyous Trusts" *was Frederick Opper's subject in a 1902 series of cartoons. Predictably "B" stood for the Beef Trusts. The same Trust figure is back (compare it with the one in Opper's Roosevelt cartoon), although here Opper plays on the monopolist's traditional control over market prices rather than on the unsanitary practices of the packing industry.*

what was wrong with their society, but not how the problems arose or what could be done. Somehow the exposure of the symptoms of evil was supposed to motivate reformers and an aroused public to cure the disease. In keeping with the popular style of muckraking, Sinclair had pointed an accusing finger at the packers without offering any specific suggestions for cleaning up the industry.

But just as *The Jungle* can be understood only within the context of the larger muckraking style, so too the Meat Inspection Act stood within the context of progressive reform. Despite Sinclair's lack of analysis, there were many Americans who had identified the sources of such corporate arrogance and who had prepared an agenda for politics. Theodore Roosevelt embodied much of the temperament of those progressive reformers. He shared their hostility to excessive concentrations of power in private hands, their approval of executive regulatory agencies, their faith in democratic forms of government, their humanitarian sensibilities, and their overriding confidence in the people's capacity to shape their future intelligently.

The progressives were actually a diverse group seeking to turn government into a weapon for social justice. They included rural reformers, good government and moral uplift advocates, economic regulators, antitrusters, and political liberals and conservatives. Roosevelt's conservative faith in traditional institutions might easily have led him to oppose the reformers, but he was never a diehard who railed against change in any form. "The only true conservative is the man who resolutely sets his face to the future," he once told a progressive supporter.

It was preoccupation with morality that brought the reform movement together and which attracted Roosevelt to progressivism. "His life, he felt, was a quest for the moral," wrote one biographer, John Blum. The reformers of the early twentieth century saw themselves rooting out evil, which more often than not they defined as "corporate arrogance." Thus, when Roosevelt set out to bust a trust, he did not always pick the biggest corporations. Rather, he picked the more notorious companies like the Northern Securities railroad combination, whose reputation for stock manipulation and rate gouging against farmers and small shippers had outraged popular opinion.

Corporate misconduct would not have spurred moral outrage had the misconduct not frequently resulted in tragedy. Seeking to maximize profits, a railroad might leave a road crossing unguarded; a water company might eliminate safeguards against typhoid fever. "Such incidents made the corporation look like a killer," wrote historian David Thelen. "These specific threats united all classes; anyone's child might be careless at a railroad crossing, and typhoid fever was no respecter of social origins."

The campaign for improved meat inspection had all the ingredients that aroused progressive ire. The packing industry fit Roosevelt's definition of a "bad" trust, since its disregard for even minimum health standards threatened all classes of Americans. The problem was particularly acute because the explosive growth of cities had created a huge demand for processed foods. Other food industries had better sanitary standards than the meat packers. Milk dealers, for example, regularly increased their profits by diluting their product, using chalk, plaster, and molasses to fortify the color and taste. A popular ditty of the day expressed the widespread skepticism with processed foods.

> Things are seldom what they seem,
> Skim milk masquerades as cream,
> Lard and soap we eat for cheese,
> Butter is but axle grease.

As a result, the public was prepared to think the worst of the meat industry.

Reeling from the impact of the Sinclair scandal, the packers agreed that improved federal inspection was the best way to restore public confidence in their products. J. Ogden Armour, head of the packing house that bore his name, defended the industry in a *Saturday Evening Post* article published soon after *The Jungle* appeared. Armour confidently invited the public to visit local packing plants "to see for yourself how the hated packer takes care of your meat supply." But he frankly admitted that "no packer can do an interstate or export business without government inspection." A serious decline in both domestic and foreign meat sales confirmed Armour's estimate of the need for improved inspection. Under the shadow Sinclair had cast, millions of Americans had altered their eating habits. Many foreign countries banned American meats. An industry representative confessed that the loss of public confidence was "hurting us very, very materially."

Thus the historical context surrounding the strident confrontation between reformers and packers reveals that the dramatic appearance of *The Jungle* was only the most conspicuous—and therefore the most obviously symbolic—event among a whole series of developments. All the necessary ingredients were on hand to produce legislation for more stringent federal inspection. And on hand was Theodore Roosevelt, the master political chef who would whip all the ingredients into a dish consumers could taste with confidence.

The Legislative Jungle

In order for public outrage to find a constructive outlet, politicians must translate that anger into law. And historians, for their part, must retrace the same path through the congressional maze in order to see what compromises and deals shaped the final bill. The legislative process is so constituted that willful minorities can sometimes thwart the will of determined majorities. Skillful manipulation of parliamentary rules, the committee system, the party caucus, nuisance amendments, filibuster and other legislative procedures—all these allow senators and representatives to protect special interests, promote their own causes, or delay the legislative process until support for a bill dissolves.

It is during the legislative phase that the historian discovers that support for improved inspection was not so universal as it seemed immediately after the publication of *The Jungle*. Meat inspection, like many reforms of the progressive era, raised issues more consequential than the sanitary standards of a single industry. Many of the larger issues affected the attitudes of the individual actors. President Roosevelt, for example, had on many occasions expressed his determination "to assert the sovereignty of the National Government by affirmative action" against unchecked corporate wealth and power. When added to the Hepburn bill allowing the government to set railroad shipping rates and the Pure Food and Drug Act, a new meat inspection bill would mark a major extension of public regulatory authority over private corporations.

Many people who favored improved inspection had given no indication that they would accept Roosevelt's sweeping definition of executive authority. The popular doctrine of *caveat emptor* (let the buyer beware) placed the burden for policing the marketplace on the consumer, not the government. As recently as 1895 in the case of *E. C. Knight*, the Supreme Court had severely restricted the possible area of government regulation over commerce. The packers, for their part, had given no indication that in agreeing to inspection reform they would accept a bill that in any way impinged on their control of the meat industry. So behind a mask of general agreement many actors entered the legislative process with conflicting motives and objectives. Much of that conflict would be expressed, not as disagreement on major legal or philosophical issues, but as seemingly petty bickering over procedural questions and minutiae of the proposed law.

From the outset Roosevelt indicated that he did not expect to achieve a satisfactory bill without a struggle. He knew that Sinclair's socialist writings would not persuade conservatives in Congress to support the tough bill he wanted. Nor had the government yet taken adequate steps to investigate its own misconduct. Immediately after the furor over *The Jungle*, Agriculture Secretary James Wilson had ordered an internal investigation of the Bureau of Animal Industry (BAI), which ran the inspection system. But Wilson and Roosevelt both suspected that the investigation would not "get to the bottom of this matter." Therefore, they asked Commissioner of Labor Charles P. Neill and New York attorney James Reynolds to undertake an independent investigation. Both men had been active in "good government" causes, though neither had any familiarity with the meat industry. Once they reported back, Roosevelt would have the evidence he needed to discredit either Sinclair as a sensationalist or the meatpackers as "malefactors of wealth."

Agriculture Department investigators confirmed the president's cynicism by whitewashing the BAI. They charged Sinclair with grossly exaggerating conditions in the plants, and treating "the worst . . . which could be found in any establishment as typical of the general conditions." Although they conceded that the system could stand reforming, they argued that Sinclair's accusations against federal inspectors were "willful and deliberate misrepresentations of fact."

Neill and Reynolds suggested that, if anything, Sinclair had understated the abominable conditions. Their official report rivaled his expose in lurid details. Slime and manure covered the walks leading into the plants. The buildings lacked adequate ventilation and lighting. All the equipment—the conveyors, meat racks, cutting tables, and tubs—rotted under a blanket of filth and blood. Meat scraps for canning or sausages sat in piles on the grimy floors. Large portions of ground rope and pigskin went into the potted ham. Just as Sinclair had charged, foul conditions in the plant proved harmful to the health of both the workers and the consumers of the products they prepared.

The Neill-Reynolds report gave Roosevelt the big stick he liked to carry into any political fight. Should the packers prove recalcitrant he could threaten to make the secret report public. "It is absolutely necessary that we shall have legislation which will prevent the recurrence of these wrongs," he warned. In Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana he found a willing ally, already at work on a new inspection bill. Beveridge, like Roosevelt, had caught the rising tide of progressive discontent over corporate misconduct. He sensed, too, that leadership on this issue would win him the popular acclaim he craved. Assisted by Agriculture Department experts, Beveridge had a bill drafted by the middle of May 1906. He urged Roosevelt to pave the way for Senate approval by releasing the damning Neill-Reynolds report.

For the moment, the politically adept Roosevelt heeded his own admonition to speak softly. Despite his customary bluster and pugnacious temperament, the president was actually a cautious man. An unnecessary confrontation with the powerful beef trust offended his sense of political expedience. Why waste his political ammunition if he could have his way without a fight? "The matter is of such far-reaching importance," he confided to Neill, "that it is out of the question to act hastily." Besides, having once been a rancher himself, he was reluctant to injure the livestock raisers, who bore no responsibility for the packers' scandalous behavior.

The packers had indicated that they would resist efforts to regulate their business. While Neill and Reynolds were in Chicago, packing house representatives had privately admitted that all was not well in their plants. One had begged Neill to withhold his report, promising in return that the packers would carry out any "reasonable, rational, and just recommendations" within thirty days. After that Neill and Reynolds would be free to reexamine the plants. When Neill refused, packer Louis Swift rushed off to confront the president. He found Roosevelt equally unsympathetic to any scheme involving voluntary compliance. The president assured Swift that he would settle for no less than legislation to "prevent the recurrence of these wrongs."

Beveridge was now ready with his bill. On May 21, he introduced it as a Senate amendment to the House Agricultural Appropriations bill. Why, one might well ask, did such a major reform make its debut in the form of a tacked-on amendment to a House bill? Here, we begin to see how the legislative process affects political outcomes. Beveridge recognized that effective inspection required adequate funds. Previous Congresses had undermined the system by refusing to vote the money needed. Many smaller plants had no inspection at all, and the largest ones had no inspectors at night. Beveridge, therefore, had proposed to shift the funding from the small amount allotted in the House Appropriations bill to a head fee charged for each animal inspected. As the industry grew, so would the funds for the Bureau of Animal Industry. But since the Constitution requires the House to initiate all money bills, Beveridge had to amend a House bill pending before the Senate rather than introduce a separate measure.

Beveridge included two other important changes. The old law did nothing to force the packers to indicate on the label of canned meats either the date on which they were processed or the actual contents. (Neill and Reynolds, for example, confirmed that the product called "potted chicken" contained no chicken at all.) The new law required dating and accurate labeling of the contents. It also invested the secretary of agriculture with broad authority to establish regulations for sanitary standards in the plants. Inspectors could then enforce those conditions as well as ensure the health of animals prior to and after slaughtering. If the owners challenged an inspector's ruling, the secretary had authority to make a "final and conclusive" ruling.

Yet this comprehensive bill, which Beveridge confidently introduced in May, was hardly the same bill Roosevelt signed on June 30, 1906. The small head fee had been replaced by an annual $3 million appropriation. The secretary of agriculture no longer had "final and conclusive" authority, for the federal courts were given the right to review his rulings. And the final measure said nothing about dating canned meats. In those discrepancies undoubtedly lies the source of Senator Nelson's dismay with the outcome of the meat inspection battle. What the historian must now explain is why the reformers who entered the fray holding most of the cards in their hands had given in on so many crucial points.

The battle actually began well enough for Roosevelt and Senate reformers. When the packers first tried to stall Beveridge with promises to make voluntary improvements, the senator threatened them with more damaging disclosures. To show he meant business, he had Neill brief lobbyists for livestock raisers and senators from western cattle states on the contents of his report. The packers had counted on them as allies in their fight against overly stringent federal regulation. But faced with the prospect of more adverse publicity, the meat and cattle interests beat a hot retreat. The Beveridge Amendment passed in the Senate without a single negative vote. Never known for his modesty, Beveridge touted his measure as "the most perfect inspection bill in the world."

Roosevelt hoped that the smashing Senate victory would lead to equally swift action by the House. The packers, however, had no intention of giving up without a fight. In the House, they had far more substantial support, particularly on the critical Agriculture Committee. Its chairman, James Wadsworth, a Republican from New York, was himself a cattle breeder. He regarded *The Jungle* as a "horrid, untruthful book" which, he claimed, had temporarily unhinged the president. To orchestrate the opposition, Wadsworth could count on the unflagging support of "Blond Billy" Lorimer, a senior committee member, a notorious grafter, and the Republican representative from Chicago's packing house district. The Beveridge bill aroused Lorimer like a red flag waved before a bull. "This bill will never be reported by my committee—not if little Willie can help it."

The packers had another, even more powerful, ally—time. Summer adjournment for Congress was only six weeks away. In the days before air conditioning, most public officials left Washington to escape the oppressive summer heat. While Congress vacationed, the public would most likely forget all about *The Jungle*, and as popular outrage dissipated, so would much of the pressure for reform. Only new and more damaging disclosures could rekindle the fervor that had swept Beveridge's amendment through the Senate.

As long as the Neill-Reynolds report remained secret, Roosevelt could save it as the ultimate disclosure to arouse the public. But by the time the Beveridge bill reached the House, the impatient Upton Sinclair had reneged on an earlier promise to Roosevelt that he would remain silent until his accusations had been proven. To goad the president, he published new charges embellished with even more lurid details. Finally, unable to contain his frustration, he leaked the details of the Neill-Reynolds report to *The New York Times*, and newspapers across the country had picked up the story. Having lost its shock value, Roosevelt's big stick appeared more like a little twig.

The packing-house forces sensed that the worst had passed, and set out to delay a vote on the Beveridge bill until they had forced the reformers to make three concessions they viewed as crucial to their interests. The requirement for stringent labeling, they argued, would force the industry to abandon many well-known brand names, and dates would prejudice consumers against perfectly healthy canned meats. Nor could the packers abide investing such broad discretionary powers in the secretary of agriculture. Such a step, one spokesperson claimed, would in effect "put our business in the hands of theorists, chemists, and sociologists, etc., and the management and control taken away from men who devoted their lives to the upbuilding and perfecting of this great American industry. . . ." In short, the packers argued that the secretary's arbitrary authority could deprive them of their property without the constitutional safeguard of due process in the courts.

Although likely to gain materially from more effective inspection, the packers called the head fees the most unfair aspect of the bill. Condemned animals, they claimed, already cost them millions each year. Now, the government proposed to saddle them with the additional burden of paying inspectors' salaries. That argument artfully concealed the packers' real opposition to a self-financing system. As many reformers quickly pointed out, the small head fee (no more than 3 to 5 cents per animal) could easily be passed on to consumers. But a more effective inspection service might force the packers to abandon some of their most profitable, if unhealthy, practices, such as rerouting cattle rejected at antemortem inspection to other parts of their plants. Furthermore, the old law allowed the packers to undermine the inspection system whenever it hurt profits, simply by arranging for their congressional allies, Lorimer and Wadsworth, to cut the BAI budget in the name of government economy. Forced to lay off inspectors, the BAI could not effectively supervise the plants. The Beveridge head-fee system eliminated that possibility.

When the packers waged their lobbying campaign, they shrewdly pitched their arguments to congressional interests as well as their own. Control over annual appropriations gives the House and its members much of their political clout. By making his system self-financing, Beveridge would have weakened the House's jealously guarded grip on federal purse strings, depriving some congressmen of potential influence. Other representatives who were traditional champions of private enterprise agreed that restrictions on labels and dates, combined with the secretary of agriculture's discretionary authority, constituted unwarranted government interference in private enterprise. Beveridge had unwittingly reinforced his opponents' claims when he boasted that his bill was "THE MOST PRONOUNCED EXTENSION OF FEDERAL POWER IN EVERY DIRECTION EVER ENACTED." Representative E. D. Crumpacker of Indiana warned House members, "The passage of the meat inspection bill as it came from the Senate would mean the ultimate federalization of every industry in the United States."

With substantial support in the House and the sting removed from the damning Neill-Reynolds report, the packers sponsored a substitute bill, which Wadsworth and Lorimer introduced in the House in late May. Their draft eliminated each feature the packers opposed. They authorized the continued use of misleading brand names and preservatives. Dates on the cans were not required. In place of the head fee they had restored the annual appropriation. And in two other sweeping revisions, they removed the Beveridge bill's proposed ban on interstate transportation of uninspected meats and gave packing firms the right to appeal any agriculture department ruling to the federal courts. That last provision promised to be the most destructive of all, for private business had no more sympathetic audience than the champions of laissez-faire who sat on the federal judiciary. By appealing each unfavorable decision to the courts, the packers could paralyze the inspection system.

The Wadsworth-Lorimer substitute outraged President Roosevelt. "It seems to me," he wrote Wadsworth, "that each change is for the worse and in the aggregate they are ruinous, taking every particle of good from the suggested Beveridge amendment." He then made good on his threat to expose the packers. On June 4 he sent the Neill-Reynolds report to Congress along with a sharply worded message calling for a stringent inspection bill.

As might have been expected, Roosevelt's message in no way routed the packing-house forces in the House. Lorimer returned from a hasty trip to Chicago in time to denounce the Neill-Reynolds report as a "gross exaggeration of conditions." Armour accused the president of doing "everything in his power to discredit them and their business." The packers even produced two University of Illinois professors to rebut the Neill-Reynolds report.

All that rhetoric, of course, is a part of the symbolic language that so often monopolizes the public stage of politics. Each side adopts an uncompromising posture and accuses the opposition of all manner of villainy. The combatants strike heroic postures as champions of a larger public or national interest. They use such "disinterested" allies as Neill and Reynolds or university professors to legitimize their position. But at this point, when no accommodation seems possible, the negotiation and compromise begin.

Faced with Roosevelt's demand for quick action on the Beveridge bill and the Wadsworth-Lorimer substitute, the House voted to send both measures to the Agriculture Committee. In doing so, it followed a well-established procedure for reviewing legislation through its committee system. No handbook exists that explains how the committee system works, nor does the Constitution make any mention of it. Congress first established committees to streamline its functioning. Rather than have the entire body deliberate every bill, these smaller groups consider measures relevant to their areas of special interest before making recommendations to the entire House or Senate. A trade bill may go to the Commerce or Foreign Relations Committees, a pork barrel water project to the Rivers and Harbors Committee, and a farm bill to the Agriculture Committee. Those bills encompassing a variety of features have to go through several committees. All bills must eventually pass through the Rules Committee, which establishes parliamentary rules, such as the time allotted for floor debate or the conditions for amendment.

Yet if the committee system promotes efficiency, it also can become an undemocratic process used by a handful of representatives or senators to defeat a popular bill, either by eliminating or amending its central provisions or by refusing to return it to the floor for a vote. In sending the Beveridge bill to the Agriculture Committee, the House had routed it through an enemy stronghold. Wadsworth and Lorimer were both members of the committee; they had only to gain ten of eighteen votes from their colleagues in order to replace the Beveridge bill with their substitute. Other members of the House might never have a chance to vote on the original bill, even if a majority favored it.

Diligently, Wadsworth and Lorimer set out to undermine the Beveridge bill. They opened their attack by holding committee hearings to which they invited only witnesses sympathetic to the packers. Hearings are ostensibly a means to collect information that guides Congress as it formulates legislation. But they can be used for many other purposes—to delay, to discredit opponents, or to gain publicity for committee members. So for four days the Agriculture Committee heard a parade of witnesses defend the packers. The testimony of Thomas Wilson, a leading packer lobbyist, set the tone. Fed leading questions by Lorimer and Wadsworth, he attacked the Neill-Reynolds report as a "compendium of inaccuracies of fact," impugned the two men's competence, and stressed the "non-practical nature" of their background. And though under oath, Wilson swore that no condemned meat ever entered the market! The packers, he explained, were reasonable, public-spirited men. They would support a fair measure, such as Wadsworth and Lorimer had proposed, but not the government interference Beveridge called for.

More moderate committee members finally insisted that the committee hear opposing witnesses as well. That suited Wadsworth and Lorimer, for the longer the hearings lasted, the closer Congress came to adjourning. They also gained an opportunity to confront Neill and Reynolds directly. Neill attempted to refute criticism of his impracticality by stating that "we only reported what we could see, hear, and smell." He soon withered, however, under an unending barrage of hostile questions from the chairman and his crony. Reynolds, the Washington lawyer, was more accustomed to such abusive tactics. He coolly pointed out that, while he had based his conclusions on direct observation, Wilson had relied solely on hearsay gathered from packing-house employees.

As the hearings closed on June 9, Wadsworth eked out a narrow margin of victory, his substitute bill passing by only eleven to seven. Four Republicans had been so disgusted by the "bullyragging" aimed at Neill and Reynolds, they had voted against the substitute. The president exploded when he saw Wadsworth's handiwork. The provisions in the new bill struck him as "so bad that if they had been deliberately designed to prevent remedying of the evils complained of, they could not have been worse."

Historians recognize that parties to a negotiation often inflate their initial demands to allow room for compromise. Still, Wadsworth and Lorimer had been unusually brazen in attacking the heart of Beveridge's inspection system. In their substitute, they made no provision for night inspection. Lorimer had also included a clause that waived for one year the civil service requirements for new inspectors. In that year, he could personally control the list of new appointments. The BAI would be saddled with political hacks loyal only to Lorimer and the packers.

Two provisions particularly infuriated Roosevelt. The agriculture department had suggested as a compromise that Congress authorize an annual appropriation, but also grant the secretary standby power to levy a head fee if the appropriation proved inadequate. Lorimer and Wadsworth insisted on an annual sum of $1 million, scarcely enough to meet current costs. And once again, they had shifted final authority under the act from the secretary of agriculture to the federal courts.

The president did not deny that the packers, like anyone else, were entitled to "due process." But he also believed that court review should be restricted to a narrow procedural question. Had the secretary been fair in reaching a decision? The committee granted the courts power to rule on substantive questions of fact. "You would have the functions of the Secretary of Agriculture narrowly limited so as to be purely ministerial," Roosevelt told Wadsworth, "and when he declared a given slaughterhouse unsanitary, or a given product unwholesome, acting upon the judgment of government experts, you would put on a judge, who had no knowledge of conditions, the burden of stating whether the Secretary was right."

Wadsworth refused to be cowed by the president's angry outburst. "You are wrong, very, very wrong in your estimate of the committee's bill," he responded. He even criticized the president for "impugning the sincerity and competency of a Committee of the House of Representatives" and called his substitute measure "as perfect a piece of legislation to carry into effect your own views on this question as was ever prepared by a committee of Congress." Lorimer, too, vowed to continue his defiance of the president.

All that sniping would not deserve so much notice except for one important factor—all of the antagonists belonged to the same party. The meat inspection battle had pitted a popular and powerful Republican president and his Senate friends against the Republican majority in the House. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, perhaps the president's closest political friend, had made the intraparty schism that much more public when he denounced the "greedy" packers for their attempt to derail the reform bill. Sensing the growing embarrassment among Republicans, House Democrats sought to deepen the rift. They insisted that the Beveridge bill be given a full vote on the House floor, even though it had not been voted out of the Agriculture Committee. "Czar" Joseph Cannon, the dictatorial Republican speaker, temporarily retrieved the situation for his party by ruling the motion out of order.

Cannon was now the man on the hot seat. The fight among Republican factions threatened to become a donnybrook that might destroy the political empire he had so ruthlessly built and ruled. His personal and political sympathies lay with the packers and conservatives who opposed government regulation of the free enterprise system. His power came, however, not from leading any particular faction, but from bringing together all the elements of his party into a unified machine. As speaker and chairman of the powerful Rules Committee, he had the means to keep unruly congressmen in line because he handed out all committee assignments. Members of Congress prefer to sit on those committees that deal with issues important to their constituents. Industrial state representatives may want Labor or Commerce, while a representative from a mining state like Nevada might prefer Interior. To earn Cannon's favor, many representatives found themselves forced to vote with the speaker and against their consciences.

With his power base shaken, Cannon sought some way to break the impasse between Republican reformers and conservatives. Since Roosevelt, too, had an interest in party unity, the speaker went to see him at the White House. The president proved amenable to a suitable compromise. They agreed that Wisconsin Representative Henry Adams, a moderate and a member of the Agriculture Committee, was the best person to work out the details. Adams had endorsed earlier compromises and, as a former food commissioner and champion of pure foods legislation, he was free of the taint that clung to Wadsworth and Lorimer. Adams, Reynolds, and Agriculture Department lawyers had soon produced a new bill. From the Wadsworth-Lorimer measure, they dropped the civil service waiver, added a provision for dating canned meats, gave the secretary standby fee authority, and eliminated the section on broad court review. Roosevelt declared their measure "as good as the Beveridge amendment."

All those negotiations took place while Wadsworth and Lorimer were away from Washington, but when they returned, they vowed to reverse the president's apparent victory. Cannon, however, had no appetite for further infighting. He urged the Agriculture Committee to work out yet another compromise. Wadsworth and Lorimer immediately deleted the secretary's standby fee authority from the Adams bill, though they did raise the appropriation to $3 million, more than enough to meet current costs. Their axe next fell on the dating requirement and, in return, they kept out the civil service waiver, while explicitly authorizing inspectors to visit plants "day or night."

One crucial issue remained. What would be the scope of court review? Wadsworth was willing to drop his demand for broad review if the president took out the Senate's phrase giving the secretary "final and conclusive" authority. Roosevelt agreed to that horse trade, which one historian aptly described as "purposeful obscurity." To achieve his larger goal of improved inspection, Roosevelt was willing to let the courts decide the actual scope of judicial review. He regretted the absence of mandatory dating, but did not consider the issue sufficiently important to upset the hard-won compromise. Roosevelt often criticized those diehards who would go down fighting for a "whole loaf," when "half a loaf" was the best they could expect. With the president behind the final committee bill, the entire House passed it on June 19.

The battle was not yet won, however, for Beveridge and the reformers in the Senate continued their fight, threatening to keep the two Houses deadlocked until recess. The Indiana senator had strong support from Redfield Proctor, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. Though nearly crippled by rheumatism, Proctor had stayed on in Washington to assure passage of an effective meat bill. Like Beveridge, he believed a consumer had the right to know whether canned meats were five days or five years old. And if the government stamp would be worth millions in free advertising for the packers, Proctor thought the industry, not the taxpayer, should bear the cost. The Senate, therefore, voted to reject the House bill in favor of its own.

Once again, process more than substance determined the outcome. When the two houses pass different versions of the same bill, they create a conference committee to iron out the discrepancies. With time too short for long wrangling over each point, Roosevelt intervened. He first urged the House members to reconsider their position on dating and fees. They refused so vehemently that Roosevelt turned to the Senate conferees instead. Proctor and Beveridge recognized that further resistance meant total defeat. On June 29, the day before adjournment, they raised the white flag "to make sure of the greater good," and the Senate passed the House bill. The next day, after Roosevelt signed, the Meat Inspection Act of 1906 became the law of the land.

Out of the Jungle?

We might think that the passage of the new act was cause to uncork the champagne for a celebration. Despite their opposition to certain compromises, Roosevelt and Beveridge had endorsed the final measure as a triumph for reform. If historians let the case rest here, however, they would not know whether to accept Roosevelt and Beveridge's enthusiasm or Knute Nelson's despair. Who, after all, had won this legislative battle? Certainly, reformers would be heartened to see that the old toothless law had been replaced by a system that requried "day and night" inspection; banned uninspected meats from interstate commerce; gave the secretary authority to establish sanitary standards; and provided ample funding for the immediate future at least. Yet the final bill contained no provisions for head fees or dating and still left the courts as the final judge of the secretary of agriculture's rulings.

In determining who could claim victory, Roosevelt, Beveridge, and Nelson had to base their judgment only on the provisions of the final act. Yet the real significance of legislation cannot be determined until its effectiveness in practice has been measured. A law must be applied by the executive branch and tested in the courts. In the case of the Meat Inspection Act, future presidents might appoint agriculture secretaries sympathetic to the packers. The standards established might be either too vague or too lax to enforce proper sanitation. More important, the courts might yet call Roosevelt's bluff and interpret their prerogative for review broadly. Only after observing the operation of the new system over time can the historian decide whether the compromises vindicated Roosevelt or proved "half a loaf" worse than none at all.

As it happens, the subsequent history of meat inspection confirms the wisdom of the president's compromise strategy. The $3 million appropriation more than adequately funded the "beefed up" inspection system. By the end of 1907, Secretary Wilson reported that new and more efficient procedures had substantially reduced operating costs. The BAI spent only $2 million the first year, and costs dropped even though the industry grew.

Roosevelt had been shrewdest in his resort to "purposeful obscurity." The packers made no attempt to dismantle the inspection system in the courts—the first important case did not arise for over ten years. Then in 1917, in *United States v. Cudahy Packing Co., et al.*, a federal judge affirmed the secretary's authority. Congress, he ruled, could "delegate authority to the proper administrative officer to make effective rules." Two years later the Supreme Court adopted "narrow" rather than "broad" review. In an opinion for a unanimous court in the case of *Houston v. St. Louis Independent Packing Company*, Justice John

Following the public outcry, *meat packers tried to create a better image of conditions in their plants and the thoroughness of government inspection. In fact, when this picture was taken in 1906, postmortem inspection as shown here had not been at all common.*

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Clarke wrote that a decision over proper labeling of meat "is a question of fact, the determination of which is committed to the Secretary of Agriculture . . . and the law is that the conclusion of the head of an executive department . . . will not be reviewed by the Courts, where it is fairly arrived at with substantial support." After thirteen years, the reformers could finally claim victory, though the outcome by then was scarcely in doubt. Not until 1968 did another generation of reformers, spurred by Ralph Nader, find it necessary to launch a campaign to strengthen the inspection system. Then they sought higher standards for meats subject only to state inspection.

The controversy over meat inspection reminds the historian that when a legislative issue involves the disposition of economic and political power, all three branches of government influence the outcome. That does not mean, however, that their roles are equal. In this case a politically shrewd and popular executive had shown greater capacity to affect the political process at critical moments. Roosevelt used the power of his office, his control over the Republican party, and his ability to generate publicity to overcome opposition on both sides. Beveridge admitted that even in the face of widespread public outrage Congress would not have acted "if the President had not picked up his big stick and smashed the packers and their agents in the House and Senate over the head with it." Yet Roosevelt prevailed in the end only because he recognized compromise as an essential feature of the political process. He had yielded on points he considered less consequential in order to achieve his larger objective.

Just as historians must expand their field of vision to weigh the effects on a law of all three branches of government, so too they must establish the historical context of a bill over time. As we discovered, the meat scandal had a long history before the publication of *The Jungle*. We discovered, too, near-unanimous support for stricter inspection, though little understanding of what form a new bill might take. Only when the bill made its way through the legislative process did we find that the widespread cry for reform masked a deep conflict over the roles of private and public agencies in determining satisfactory standards. The packers wanted the benefits of a new bill without having to relinquish control over any aspect of their business. In addition to chastening the packers, the reformers sought to assert the authority of the federal government to police "corporate arrogance." The success of their efforts remained in doubt until well after the bill's enactment, when the Supreme Court adopted "narrow review."

It becomes clear, then, why the Meat Inspection Act could generate both Beveridge's enthusiasm and Nelson's dismay. All the interested parties had gained some, though not all, of their objectives. With public confidence restored, the packers could anticipate renewed growth for their industry. Reformers could, however, hold them to higher standards of accountability. The Republicans had averted a destructive intraparty battle and had emerged as defenders of the public interest, despite Wadsworth and Lorimer. Roosevelt had strengthened his control over the party, while extending the scope of his executive authority. Above all, he had demonstrated a capacity for effective leadership. The public gained, too, for they could sit down to dinner having to worry less what their canned foods contained besides meat.

The Meat Inspection Act of 1906 had been a total victory for neither reformers nor packers. As is so often the case, the political system achieved results only after the visible symbols and myths of public discourse had been negotiated, debated, and compromised in the procedural tangle at the heart of the legislative process. Gone from our analysis are those wonderful symbols of corporate villainy and presidential heroism. But in their place we have a more complex story revealing the political processes that shape our history.

ADDITIONAL READING

This chapter grew out of an Early Concentration History Seminar at Yale. To give students their own experience at reconstructing history from primary sources, Mark Lytle put together a package of documents on the Meat Inspection Act of 1906. Many of those students showed remarkable initiative in locating additional materials. In particular, they discovered the section in John Braeman, "The Square Deal in Action: A Case Study in the Growth of the 'National Police Power,'" that discusses the constitutional questions the new meat inspection law raised. That essay appears in Braeman, et al., *Change and Continuity in Twentieth Century America*, vol. 1 (Columbus, Ohio, 1964), 34-80.

Any reader interested in a similar exploration of secondary and primary materials might begin with Upton Sinclair, ***The Jungle*** (New York, 1906), and *The Brass Check* (Pasadena, Calif., 1919), often autobiographical. On Theodore Roosevelt and the politics of progressivism see George Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1958), John Blum, ***The Republican Roosevelt*** (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), and Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* (New York, 1964). After going through the documents for themselves our students concluded that Mowry's cursory treatment missed much of the significant political maneuvering and that Kolko misused documents and misinterpreted the meaning of the act. Another helpful secondary work is Joel Tarr, *Boss Politics* (Chicago, 1964), which examines the career of "Blond Billy" Lorimer. David Thelen, "Not Classes, But Issues," which first appeared in *The Journal of American History*, vol. LVI (September 1969), 323-334, offers a stimulating review of the many explanations of progressivism, as well as a substantial interpretation of his own. Robert Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives' Achievements in Modern America, 1889-1920* (Urbana, Ill., 1982) and Arthur Link and Richard McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1983) give additional insights into the reform impulse that swept the nation.

The documents in this case study are available in good research libraries and can be readily assembled. Such newspapers as *The New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Record-Herald*, and the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* covered the entire controversy, though the Chicago papers did so in greater depth. Much of Roosevelt's thinking can be found in Elting Morison, et al., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 5 (Cambridge, Mass., 1953). Access to some contemporary magazines including *Everybody's Magazine*, *The Lancet*, *Cosmopolitan*, and specifically J. Ogden Armour, "The Packers and the People," *Saturday Evening Post*, CLXXVII, no. 37 (March 10, 1906)—a key document in Kolko's interpretation—will provide a picture of the debate over meat packing and other muckraking issues.

This chapter drew most heavily on government documents. Readers should see *Congressional Record*, 59th Congress, 1st Session; House Committee on Agriculture, 59th Congress, 1st Session, *Hearings ... on the So-called Be-*

ridge Amendment" *to the Agriculture Appropriation Bill—H.R. 18537* (Wash-
ington, D.C., 1906); Bureau of Animal Industry, *Twenty-third Annual Report*
Washington, D.C., 1906); *House Document 873*, 59th Congress, 1st Session
June 1906)—the Neill-Reynolds Report and Theodore Roosevelt's cover letter;
and the Agriculture Committee's minority and majority reports in *House Report*
4935, pts. 1 and 2, 59th Congress, 1st Session (June 14 & 15, 1906) and *House*
Report, 3468, pt. 2, 59th Congress, 1st Session (June 15, 1906). Additional
materials can be found in the Roosevelt Papers (Harvard University) and Bev-
eridge Papers (University of Indiana).

Two readable biographies help us understand Theodore Roosevelt: John
Milton Cooper, Jr., *The Warrior and the Priest* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), and
Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1981).

Finally, thanks go to Stuart Drake, Boris Feldman, William Garfinkel, and
other Early Concentration students whose research helped locate relevant docu-
ments used in this chapter. Professor Lewis Gould of the University of Texas at
Austin generously offered some important revisions. Students interested in the
interpretations of progressive reform could profitably read Lewis Gould, ed.,
The Progressive Era (1973).

THE RISE OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

For some, at least, the material benefits of British rule were considerable. But the unrest and dissatisfaction that had expressed itself earlier in the Sepoy Mutiny continued to be felt. One aspect of the British presence that disturbed Indians was the double standard the British upheld in India. The British took pride in being devoted to representative government, individual liberties, and the principle of equal justice for all. Yet they did not apply these concepts to Indians. The British, not Indians, governed India. Indians were discriminated against in many ways. Even after being admitted to the civil service, Indians were denied promotion to higher-level administrative positions. Justice was not administered equally to Indians and to British alike. Indians were treated as second-class citizens in their own land. Jawaharlal Nehru, a high-caste Hindu and lawyer who was to become India's first prime minister, summed up the Indian attitude toward the British and their rule:

> The British who came to India were not political or social revolutionaries; they were conservatives representing the most reactionary social class in England, and England was in some ways one of the most conservative countries in Europe. . . . They encouraged and consolidated the position of the socially reactionary groups in India, and opposed all those who worked for political and social change. If change came, it was in spite of them or as an incidental and unexpected consequence of their activities. The introduction of the steam engine and the railway was a big step toward a change . . . but it was intended to consolidate their rule and facilitate the exploitation, for their own benefit, of the interior of the country. . . .
>
> I remember that when I was a boy the British-owned newspapers in India were full of official news and utterances; of service news, transfers, and promotions; of the doings of English society, of polo, races, dances, and amateur theatricals. There was hardly a word about the people of India, about their political, cultural, or economic life. Reading them, one would hardly suspect that they existed. . . .
>
> Racialism in India is not so much English versus Indian. It is European as opposed to Asiatic. In India every European, be he German or Pole or Rumanian, is automatically a member of the ruling race. Railway carriages, station retiring rooms, benches in parks, are marked "For Europeans only." This is bad enough in South Africa or elsewhere [many Indians had migrated to South Africa], but to have to put up with it in one's own country is a humiliating and exasperating reminder of our enslaved condition.

From James Clark, INDIA PP. 32-33

(over)

British Policy after the War

Britain and her allies during the War had said that they were fighting the War for the freedom of nations. Many Indian leaders believed that after the War was over, India would be given Swaraj. The British government, however, had no intention of conceding the demands of the Indian people.

The British government in 1919 announced some changes in the system of government of the country. These are known as Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms named after the then Secretary of State and the Viceroy respectively. According to these reforms, the Central Legislative Council came to have two houses—the Legislative Council and the Council of State. These houses were to have a majority of elected members. The provincial councils were to be enlarged and were to [illegible] elected majorities. The ministers in charge of some portfolios in provinces like education, public health, etc., were to be responsible to the Council but the important portfolios remained with the governors. The number of voters who elected members of the Councils was limited as only men with property had the right to vote. All the important power remained with the Governor-General and his Executive Council who continued to be responsible to the British government and not to the Indian people. In the provinces, the Councils were still powerless as the governors continued to enjoy wide powers.

These changes were nowhere near the Swaraj that the people had hoped to achieve at the end of the War. There was widespread discontent throughout the country. In the midst of this discontent, the government resorted to measures of repression. Early in 1919, the Rowlatt Act was passed. It empowered the government to put people in jails without any trial. The passing of this Act aroused the indignation of the people. A movement of protest spread throughout the country. There were demonstrations and *hartals* all over the country. The government resorted to brutal measures to put down the agitation and there were lathi-charges and firings at a number of places.

The Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre

In the midst of this repression, a ghastly massacre took place at Amritsar. On 10 April two nationalist leaders, Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew were arrested. There is a small park in Amritsar called the Jallianwalla Bagh. The park is enclosed on three sides by high walls. A narrow lane leads to the park. On 13 April people gathered there to protest against the arrest of the two leaders. The meeting was peaceful. There were many old men, women and children in the meeting. Suddenly, a British officer General Dyer entered the park with his troops. Without even giving a warning to the people to disperse, he ordered his troops to fire. The troops fired with machine-guns at the unarmed crowd for ten minutes and then left. In those ten minutes about a thousand persons were killed and about 2000 were wounded. The bullet marks can be still seen on the walls.

The massacre had been a calculated act and Dyer declared with pride that he had done it to produce moral effect on the people. He had no regrets. He went to England and some Englishmen collected money to honour him. Others were shocked at this act of beastliness and demanded an inquiry.

The massacre aroused the fury of the Indian people and the government replied with further brutalities. People in Punjab were made to crawl. They were put in open cages and flogged. A reign of terror, like the one that followed the suppression of the Revolt of 1857, was let loose. However, these brutalities only added fuel to the fire, and the agitation against the British rule grew more powerful.

From Modern India
- a Textbook used in Indian
Middle Schools

(OVER)

The Indian People Awaken

When World War I broke out in 1914, Indians willingly fought with the British. Eventually over one million Indians could claim that they had fought "to make the world safe for democracy." Indians expected self rule after the war; the British had promised more self rule and Woodrow Wilson, the U.S. president had promoted the ideal of self determination. When self rule did not come about, a wave of unrest swept India. The British responded by passing the Rowlatt Acts in 1919. These acts limited Indian civil rights allowing the British to jail agitators without trial. Indian nationalists demonstrated against these acts, further angering the British. In the city of Amritsar Indian leaders scheduled a mass meeting for April 13, 1919. General Reginald Dyer, the English commander, forbade the meeting. Many people did not know of the prohibition or were determined to meet anyway. General Dyer appeared at the meeting with troops and ordered them to fire. About 400 were killed and over 1000 were injured. The incident aroused public opinion against the British and steered many Indian nationalists toward the ultimate goal of independence from the British Empire.

The Following Story is Taken From Through Indian Eyes Vol. II pp 51-65.

The following selection describes what happened at Amritsar. It is taken from a novel set in the early years of the independence movement. How do you think you would have reacted to news of Amritsar if you were an Indian? As a nationalist leader, how would you use this event? Anwar, in the story, is a young boy who has gone with his friend, Ratan, to the garden where the meeting took place. Ratan's father is Ajit Singh, the watchman.

ANWAR LOOKED AT his watch. It was 5:30. Then he shot a glance in the direction of the entrance and was petrified by what he saw.

A party of English and Gurkha soldiers, thirty or forty in number, had entered and taken their position in front of the main gate of the *Bagh* [garden]. They all carried rifles, and a few of the English officers carried revolvers, including the red-faced one whom Anwar had frequently seen in the car going round the city with the military patrol. . . .

The red-faced officer shouted something to the Gurkhas and they pointed their rifles at the crowd. "Fire!" came the order, and the Gurkhas obeyed. But Anwar saw that before firing they had raised their rifles a little. . . .

The crowd rose and stampeded in all directions. Women grabbed their children like hens protecting their brood at the approach of a hawk. But no one was hit by the bullets and someone from the crowd shouted, "Don't be afraid. They are firing blank cartridges." Many people checked themselves in their mad rush and some turned back to face the soldiers.

The red-faced Englishman seemed to be highly indignant. He was waving his revolver at the Gurkhas and shouting at them in broken Hindustani: "You sons of pigs, you bastards, why fire so high? Fire low or we will shoot you with our revolvers." All the English officers drew their revolvers and pointed them at the Gurkhas. "Fire!" ordered Red-face, and the Gurkhas fired. And this time their rifles pointed straight at the crowd.

"Lie flat on the ground." The *Jamadar* [watchman] gave the order in precise military manner, and the two boys obeyed him. It was just in time, for they had hardly touched the ground when bullets went whistling over them.

It was a nightmarish experience for Anwar as he lay on the ground and watched the bloody drama. The rifles kept barking, the bullets came flying in an uninterrupted stream, men and women and children fell everywhere, there were screams and moans and groans. In their mad rush to the narrow exits, people had left behind their shoes and turbans and even their *dhoties*. Those who lay on the ground were trampled on by those who were running, and once Anwar's leg was almost fractured as a heavy boot landed on it. Even for those who were able to reach the exits there was no escape. Red-face ordered the rifles to be directed at them, and they were mown down before they could pass through to safety.

All around them lay the dead, the dying, and the wounded, and even through the crash of the rifle fire one could hear their fearful cries for help and shouts of "*Allah*" and "*Hey Bhagwan*" and "*Arey mery Ma*" [all cries to God]. A few yards from them someone was moaning aloud. Raising his head a little, Anwar saw that it was Nandoo, the hotel servant. Evidently he had been shot through the abdomen, for he clutched at his stomach every time there was a spasm of convulsions. Once he managed to turn his head a little and, holding his stomach with both his hands, spat out—blood! . . . Nandoo was a young man, and only the previous day he had told Anwar that he had recently got married. The tragedy of the multitude was, for that moment, summed up in what was happening to Nandoo. . . .

The *Jamadar* was watching Nandoo. "There is nothing much we can do, I am afraid. But at least we should turn him over, so the blood can flow out of the wound and he can die in peace." Saying this, he crawled along the ground toward Nandoo as the two boys watched anxiously, breathlessly. Nandoo was again pressing his hands over his stomach in an attempt to stop the flow of blood. The *Jamadar* gently turned him over and soon the convulsions ceased. Anwar buried his head in the ground. But, above them, the bullets continued to sing their terrifying song of death. There was a new angry, wild look on Ajit Singh's face as he crawled back.

"Has the *sarkar* [government] gone mad? Has the *sarkar* gone mad?" he repeated several times and then, before Anwar or Ratan could stop him, Ajit Singh was on his feet and walking straight toward the soldiers whose rifles were spitting fire and death.

"*Ohe, jarnel* sahib general, sir," he shouted defiantly, and his voice rang out clear and bold above the vicious whine and swish of the flying bullets.

"*Ohe, jarnel* sahib," Ajit Singh shouted again, as the bullets flew all around him. "I fought for you in the war. I saved an English officer's life. Look at these medals, if you don't believe me. But this is not war. You can't fire at unarmed people. If you go on like this you will kill twenty thousand people. We never shot at the Germans when they were without arms."

There was something frightening and yet glorious in the

sight of the *Jamadar* walking up like that, and, as Anwar watched him, fascinated, he even forgot that the old man's life was in peril. All the eyes of the petrified crowd were turned in that direction, and for a moment it seemed that the old soldier had hypnotized the men with guns. For a moment their fingers froze on their triggers.

The *Jamadar* was now hardly a few yards from Red-face, who stood on the platform, his revolver cocked and ready in his hand. "Speak, sahib, speak. Order your men to stop firing." There was challenge still in Ajit Singh's voice, but it had begun to falter. "We are all loyal to the *sarkar*, *jarnel* sahib, we are not rebels or traitors. Why are you shooting us like this? Have mercy on us, *sarkar*, for you are our father and mother. . . ." The challenge in the voice faded into the stutter of servility. Then the *Jamadar*'s right hand shot up mechanically, by force of thirty years' habit, to salute the English officer.

At that very moment a shot rang out and the *Jamadar* stopped, his right hand still touching his forehead, as if transfixed in an eternal salute.

He stood as if poised to take the next step, then he collapsed. The firing ceased. Red-face gave some order, and the soldiers and officers marched out of the gate. A ghostly silence descended upon the Jallianwalla Bagh, more frightening than rifle fire. Anwar and Ratan crawled to the side of the *Jamadar*. Shot through one of the medals, he was already dead!

Anwar could not bear to look at the *Jamadar*'s face. All around him lay the dead and the wounded on the ground, like a field of wheat when the crop has been cut. A child was trying to wake up his mother, who would be asleep forever; a boy of Anwar's own age lay flat and lifeless. Everywhere there was blood. Anwar's head reeled, his bowels contracted within him, he wanted to vomit but could not. He laid his head on the ground and saw the sky revolving and the stars dancing a dance of death, and the crooked palm tree was dancing, too. But before he yielded to unconsciousness, Anwar glimpsed Ratan's face. It bore no trace of sorrow or grief but a faraway look. He was biting his lip to choke his sobs, and his eyes were ablaze with the cold fury of revenge.

The Trenches: Man's Nightmare

The Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austro-Hungary in June 1914 sparked a rapid succession of events that took Europe into a World War. To the leaders who led their nations into the war and to the generals who planned for this war, victory seemed to be easily guaranteed by Christmas 1914. In that summer of 1914, as the peoples of Europe joyouslv cheered their fathers, sons, and brothers to the front, a new era of war was beginning. Even the soldiers who marched anxiously to war had no idea of the sacrifices to be met and the price to be paid. But they all soon realized, too late.

> It is a painful and terrible thing to think how easy it is to stir up a nation to war . . . and you will find that wars are always supported by a class of arguments which, after the war is over, the people find were arguments they should not have listed to.
>
> JOHN BRIGHT
> House of Commons
> 31 March 1854

As a result of the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th Centuries, European armies were quite large and well equipped with the most modern tools of war. One of these, the machine gun, would change the battlefield forever.

At the beginning of the war, generals led their troops in swift open-field attacks designed to grab miles of enemy territory. The Mobile German Army advancing into France drove the French back in great pushes. But the machine gun began to take its toll. The German advance slowed, then stopped on the Marne by September 1914.

Now it was the Allies turn. The French advanced in huge wave attacks, full of Elan a spirit of ultimate victory and fighting ability of the French soldier. They were cut down in waves by the German machine guns. The history of war had changed. Following are a series of excerpts from soldiers in 1914 describing the efficiency of the machine gun.

> The diary of the German 57th Regiment reads 'There could never before in war have been a more perfect target than this solid wall of khaki men . . . There was only one possible order to give: "Fire until the barrels burst."'

Another German had this to say:

> Never had the machine gunners such straightforward work to do nor done it so effectively. They traversed to and fro along the enemy's ranks unceasingly. The men stood on the fire-steps, some even on the parapets, and fired triumphantly into the mass of men advancing across the open grassland. As the entire field of fire was covered with the enemy's infantry the effect was devastating and they could be seen falling literally in hundreds.

A French soldier facing German machine guns reported:

> At the beginning of the war the Germans had more of them than we had, and every time a machine gun opened fire in our sector, my men would listen carefully, and when someone said, 'It's the coffee-mill', his remark would send a tingle down our spines . . . I know nothing more depressing in the midst of battle . . . than the steady tac-tac-tac of that deadly weapon . . . There appears to be nothing material to its working. It seems to be dominated and directed by some powerful, scheming spirit of destruction.

A young British officer told in a letter of the dreadful power of these weapons:

> They have plenty of machine guns, which, when properly handled can hold up armies. This is indeed no exaggeration and you would despair of ever making a big advance, especially with calvalry, if you could see the way in which troops are mown down by these little devils, worked by three brave men.

On the opening day of the British Offensive at the Somme, 1916, the machine gun showed its deadly effect. The British 8th Infantry Division attacked German positions in a frontal wave attack, men running in the open towards German lines. Within two hours the Division lost 218 of 300 officers and 5,274 men out of 8,500. The Germans opposing them lost around 300 men. A German who was there wrote:

> We were very surprised to see them walking, we had never seen that before . . . The officers went in front. I noticed one of them walking calmly, carrying a walking stick. When we started firing we just had to load and reload. They went down in their hundreds. You didn't have to aim, we just fired into them.

From the very beginning, the Generals on both sides failed to understand the use of modern weapons. They continued to fight a war that they had been trained to fight, a war of rapid advancement. They continued to rely on the fighting spirit of their soldiers against the machine gun bullets of the enemy.

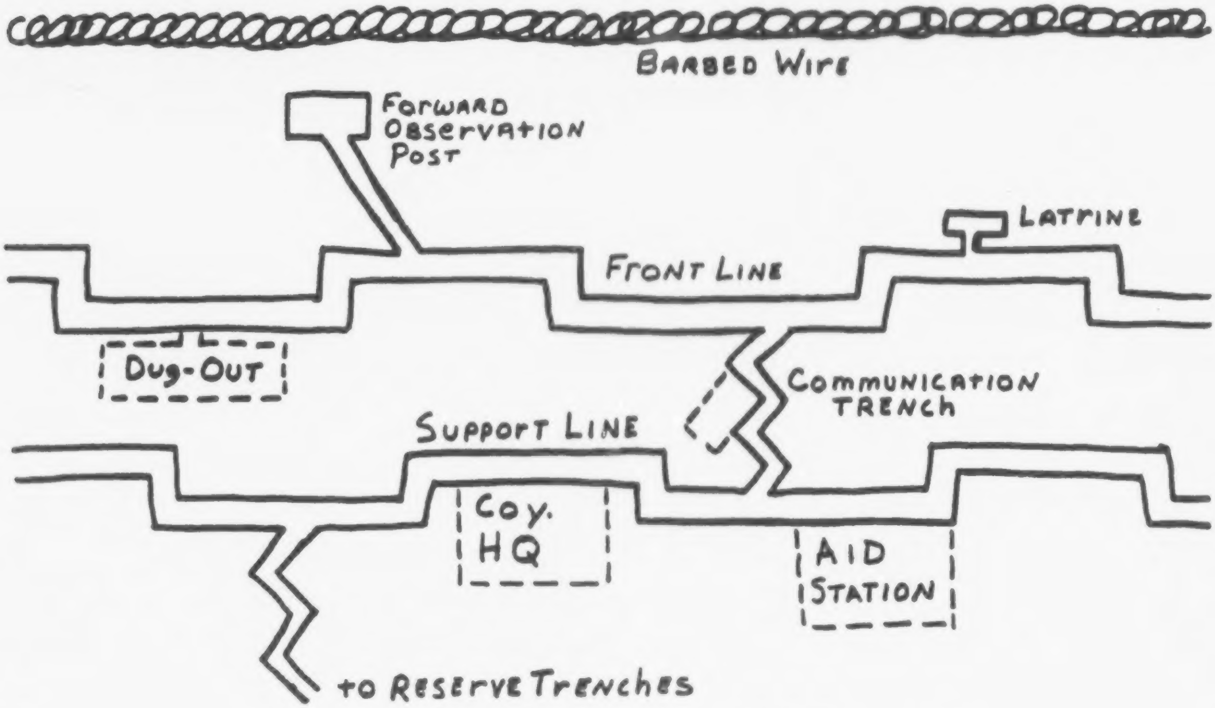
Stephen Graham, a British soldier in France, points this out rather graphically:

> I do not know why the various occasions on which battalions have fought till there were merely a few score survivors have not been properly chronicled . . . Certain platoons or companies fought shoulder to shoulder till the last man dropped . . . or . . . were shelled to nothingness, or getting over the top . . . went forward till they all withered away under machine gun fire . . . A fortnight after some exploit, a field-marshal or divisional general comes down to a battalion to thank it for its gallant conduct, and fancies for a moment, perchance, that he

> is looking at the men who did the deed of valour, and not at a large draft that has just been brought up from England and the base to fill the gap. He should ask the services of the chaplain and make his congratulations in the grave-yard or go to the hospital and make them there.

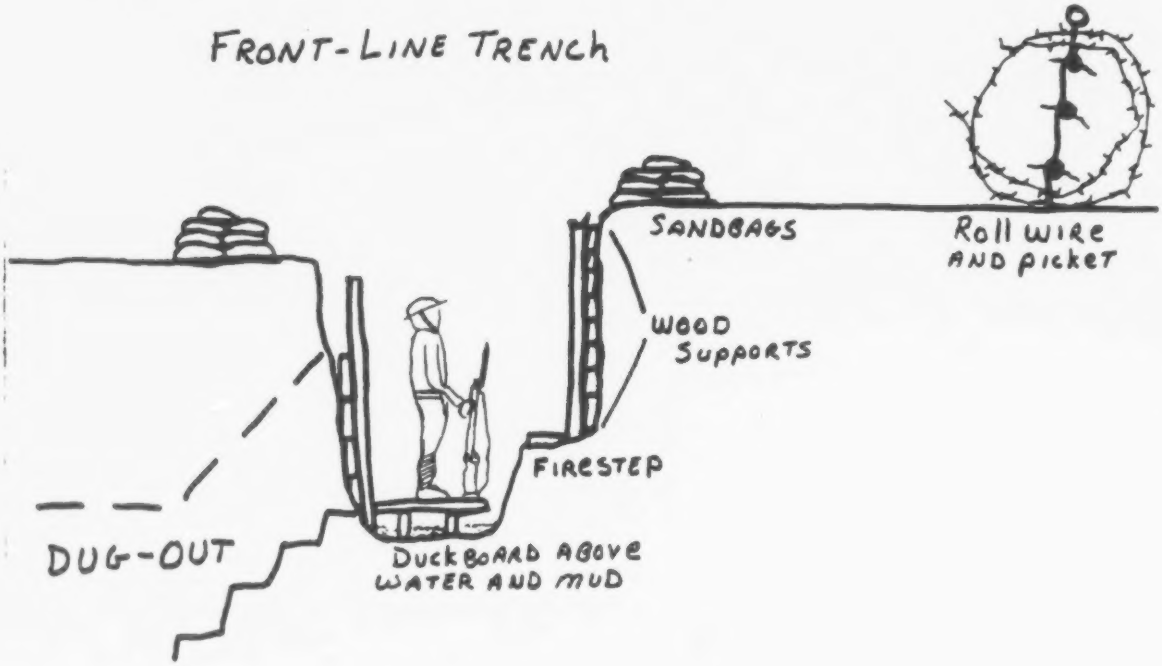
In an attempt to gain relative safety from the machine guns, the soldiers dug holes or hid in shell craters to escape the sting of the bullets. Soon these holes and craters were enlarged, then connected, and improved. In Northern France, the Western Front, both the Germans and the Allies (mainly Britain and France) had huge trench systems extending the full length from Switzerland to the Baltic Sea coast.

The average trench system usually contained a front line trench followed by a support trench and 3 to 6 reserve trenches. This was done to stop any enemy troops that might break through the first or second trench lines from making a complete break through. Barbed wire was put in front to "slow up" the enemy long enough to allow the machine guns to do their work.


BARBED WIRE
FORWARD OBSERVATION POST
LATRINE
FRONT LINE
DUG-OUT
COMMUNICATION TRENCH
SUPPORT LINE
COY. HQ
AID STATION
to RESERVE TRENCHES

Trench lines were zig-zagged instead of straight to prevent an enemy group from putting a machine gun in the trench and shooting down the length of it. In this way if the enemy got into your trench he could only kill a few soldiers nearby.

Dugouts were added as protection from artillery shells and explosions as well as to provide a home for the front line soldier. Because of machine gun fire, trenches were about 8 to 9 feet deep. When an enemy attacked, the soldiers would stand on the fire step to shoot, exposing only his head and soldiers. There was no enemy machine gun fire while the enemies troops were advancing, for obvious reasons.



As the troops settled down in their trench lines, the generals ordered artillery (cannons) brought up to blast a hole in the enemy trench lines. Artillery barrages could last anywhere from ½ hour to 48 to 72 hours at a time. The explosion of an artillery shell produces a blast that destroys trenches, etc. And kills by concussion, sloshing the brain against the skull. Shrapnel, pieces of flying metal from the shell, also destroy and kill. Following are excerpts on how the average soldier described the effects of artillery.

Henri Barbosse, a French soldier, wrote:

> A diabolical uproar surrounds us. We are conscious of a sustained crescendo, an incessant multiplication of the universal frenzy; a hurricane of hoarse and hollow banging of raging clamour, of piercing and beast-like screams, fastens furiously with tatters of smoke upon the earth where we are buried up to our necks, and the wind of the shells seems to set it heaving and pitching.

A British NCO described in this way:

> The sound was different, not only in magnitude but in quality, from anything known to me. It was not a succession of explosions or a continuous roar; I, at least, never heard either a gun or a bursting shell. It was not a noise, it was a symphony. And it did not move. It hung over us. It seemed as though the air were full of vast and agonised passion, bursting now with groans and sighs, now into shrill screaming and pitiful whimpering, shuddering beneath terrible blows, torn by unearthly whips, vibrating with the solemn pulses of enormous wings. And the supernatural tumult did not pass in this direction or in that. It did not begin, intensify, decline and end. It was poised in the air, a stationary panorama of sound, a condition of the atmosphere, not the creation of man.

British Captain Greenwall wrote in his diary:

> 'Modern warfare . . . reduces man to shivering beasts. There isn't a man who can stand shell-fire of the modern kind without getting the blues.' The noise could be fearsome. 'It was as if on some overhead platform ten thousand carters were tipping loads of pointed steel bricks that burst in the air or on the ground, all with a fiendish, devastating, ear-splitting roar that shook the nerves of the stoutest.'

The continuous strain caused by long barrages had an effect on men's nerves and minds. The term "shell shock" came into use in referring to this new mental ailment. It was not generally regarded as a genuine medical problem by most officers. Those affected by it were branded as cowards, sent to quieter sectors, or simply put in insane asylums. The following are excerpts describing "shell shock."

> An English doctor wrote: 'I remember . . . a private in one of the four crack French corps who was at Douaumont in the Verdun battle told his parents that by the ninth day (of the barrage) almost every soldier was crying.'

A French medical orderly reported:

> Shaking in every limb, in a palsied way. His steel hat was at the back of his head, and his mouth slobbered, and two comrades could not hold him still. These badly shell-shocked boys clawed their mouths ceaselessly. It was a common, dreadful action. Others sat in the field hospitals in a state of coma, dazed, as though deaf, and actually dumb.

As the war dragged on, new problems arose in the trenches. Probably the worst of these was mud caused by rain falling into ground that was churned over and over by shellfire. This ruined the natural landscape so that the water did not run off naturally into rivers and streams, but collected in the trenches.

The following give a vivid description of these conditions.

A French soldier:

> . . . the communication trenches are no more than cesspools filled with a mixture of water and urine. The trench is nothing more than a strip of water. The sides cave in behind you, as you pass, with a soft slither. We ourselves are transformed into statues of clay, with mud even in one's very mouth.

A British soldier:

> A khaki-clad leg, three heads in a row, the rest of the bodies submerged, giving one the idea that they had used their last ounce of strength to keep their heads above the rising water. In another miniature pond, a hand still gripping a rifle is all that is visible, while its next-door neighbour is occupied by a steel helmet and half a head, the staring eyes staring icily at the green slime which floats on the surface almost at their level.

For the wounded, mud could mean slow, sure death. A German wrote:

> These days, a sea of mud. The badly wounded are drowned as they try to drag themselves to the aid post . . . The hardest trial is the mud . . . Dirty cartridges, rifles whose clogged up mechanisms won't work any more; the men pissed in them to make them fire.

The next is a story told to a reporter by a British chaplain:

> A chaplain at the front told of a particularly horrible tale he was assured was true. A party of men from his division were going up to a sap head when, as they turned a corner in the trench, they stumbled across a man who had been blown into the mud. He was still alive, with only his head and the stump of a leg still visible. It proved impossible to get near enough to pull him out, and the party were forced to retrace their steps, leaving the wounded man to sink slowly.

Add to the mud and water, cold weather during the winter months and you have an almost unbearable existances. A second lieutenant of the 2nd Scottish Rifles wrote:

> No one who was not there can fully appreciate the excruciating agonies and misery through which the men had to go in those days . . . Paddling about by day, sometimes with water above the knees; standing at night, hour after hour on sentry duty, while the drenched boots, puttees and breeches became stiff like cardboard with ice from the freezing cold air.

A sergeant of the 15th Australian Battalion had this to say:

> No water was brought (into the trenches), but the ice in the shell-holes was melted to obtain water . . . I filled my water-bottle at Mametz at midday with boiling hot tea, and when I reached Bull's Trench at 5 p.m. it was frozen so hard that an ordinary knife made hardly any impression on it, and we broke it instead.

The German point of view:

> And clink of shovels deepening the shallow trench.
> The place was rotten with dead; green clumsy legs
> High-booted, sprawled and grovelled along the saps
> And trunks, face downward, in the sucking mud,
> Wallowed like trodden sandbags loosely filled;
> And naked sodden buttocks, mats of hair,
> Bulged, clotted heads slept in plastering slime.
>
> Siegfried Sassoon

A French description:

> The trenches were knee-deep in glueing mud and it was the hardest work I have ever done . . . The banks on each side were full of buried and half-buried corpses and the stench was appalling. As one was carrying a wounded man down, one perhaps got stuck in the mud and staggered whilst one extricated oneself or was extricated. You put out a hand to steady yourself, the earth gave way and you found that you were clutching the blackened face of a half-buried German.

Because of the deadly effect of machine guns and artillery, the dead littered the battlefield. The mud usually prevented the burying of the dead, and should they be buried, artillery fire dug them up again, transporting them to new positions. Corpses then became another "problem."

A British soldier commented after the war on his memory of the trenches:

> 'A penetrating and filthy stench . . . a combination of mildew, rotting vegetation and the stink which rises from the decomposing bodies of men and animals. This smell seems a permanent feature of the firing line.'

A Frenchman described the problem:

> 'We all had on us the stench of dead bodies. The bread we ate, the stagnant water we drank, everything we touched had a rotten smell, owing to the fact that the earth around us was literally stuffed with corpses.'

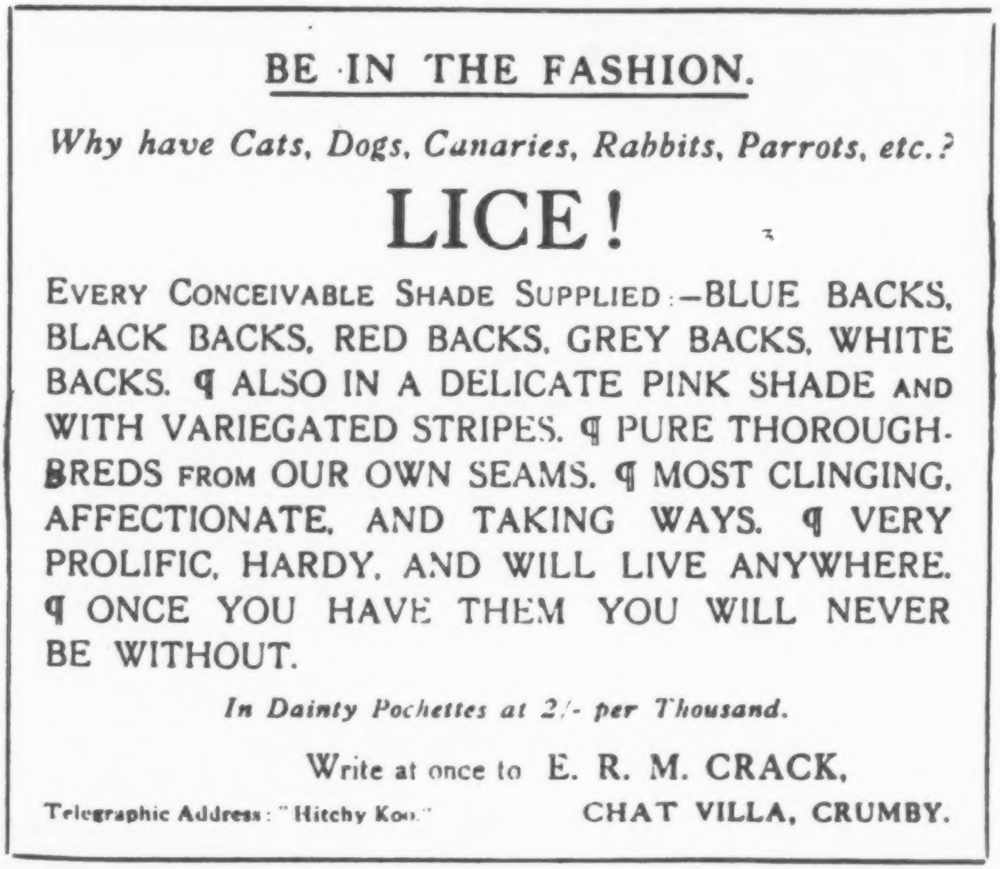
The continual problem of unburied corpses led to another problem, Rats. Well fed on the dead bodies, rats multiplied at greater than normal rates. They became bold, often scampering across the faces of sleeping soldiers in a nightly search for food. They presented great problems for the wounded as described by a Canadian soldier:

> 'Huge rates. So big they would eat a wounded man if he couldn't defend himself.'

Henri Barbusse describes a routine patrol:

> One evening, shilst on patrol, Jacques saw some rat running from under the dead men's greatcoats, enormous rats, fat with human flesh. His heart pounding, he edged towards on the bodies. Its helmet had rolled off. The man displayed a grimacing face, stripped of flesh; the skull bare, the eyes devoured. A set of false teeth slid down on to his rotting jacket, and from the yawning mouth leapt an unspeakably foul beast.

Another scourge of the trenches was lice, small insects that infect the clothing and hair of the soldiers, living off the human body and its blood. Many methods were tried to get rid of this crawling nuisance, but to no avail. They became the "pets" of the frontline soldier.



BE IN THE FASHION.

Why have Cats, Dogs, Canaries, Rabbits, Parrots, etc.?

LICE!

EVERY CONCEIVABLE SHADE SUPPLIED:—BLUE BACKS, BLACK BACKS, RED BACKS, GREY BACKS, WHITE BACKS. ¶ ALSO IN A DELICATE PINK SHADE AND WITH VARIEGATED STRIPES. ¶ PURE THOROUGHBREDS FROM OUR OWN SEAMS. ¶ MOST CLINGING, AFFECTIONATE, AND TAKING WAYS. ¶ VERY PROLIFIC, HARDY, AND WILL LIVE ANYWHERE. ¶ ONCE YOU HAVE THEM YOU WILL NEVER BE WITHOUT.

In Dainty Pochettes at 2/- per Thousand.

Write at once to E. R. M. CRACK,

Telegraphic Address: "Hitchy Koo." CHAT VILLA, CRUMBY.

In an effort to break the stalemate of the trenches, a new weapon was tried, Gas. The Germans first used it in the Spring of 1915. It continued to plague the trenchbound soldier for the rest of the war.

Choking gases such as chlorine and phosgene were first used to kill by destroying the lungs and respiratory system. Early attempts to protect the soldiers included cotton pads soaked in the soldiers own urine and tied across the nose and mouth. Though very unpleasant, the amonia in the urine did neutralize the gas. Later various gas masks came into use. A nurse described a patient dying from chlorine gas:

> 'There, sitting on the bed, fighting for breath, his lips plum-coloured, his hue leaden, was a magnificent young Canadian past all hope in the asphyxia of chlorine . . . I shall never forget the look in his eyes as he turned to me and gasped: "I can't die! Is it possible that nothing can be done for me?"

Mustard gas was introduced later in the war to defeat the gas mask. It works by producing huge blisters where the gas comes into contact with the skin. If a soldier inhaled the gas, death was slow. From 4 to 6 weeks the patient would lay coughing out pieces of his lungs until there were none left. A young British nurse had the following to say about the war:

> I wish those people who write so glibly about this being a holy war and the orators who talk so much about going on no matter how the long the war lasts and what it may mean, could see a case - to say nothing of ten cases - of mustard gas in its early stages - could see the poor things burnt and blistered all over with great mustard-colored suppurating blisters, with blind eyes . . . all sticky and stuck together, and always fighting for breath, with voices a mere whisper, saying that their throats are closing and they know they will choke.

A soldier living in the trenches always hoped for the "Blighty Wound", a wound that did not kill but would be serious enough to be permanently unfit for military service and thus free from the trenches. If a soldier were wounded though, he had good reason to fear for his life, as medical science lagged far behind the technology of killing. Doctors of that time were not quite skilled enough to repair the damage. A British doctor describes the typical first aid station:

> It is a good thing not to be too squeamish, the smell of septic limbs and heads is enough to bowl one over. As usual a good many deaths, one had the back of his head off, another from the nose downwards completely gone. But it is the multiple wounds that appear worst, men almost in pieces, the number intensifies the horror, we get so few slight cases.

Another doctor described the futility of not being able to help, but only being able to amputate limbs, not repair the damage:

> The lad was very good when I told him I thought he'd better have it off, but he looked straight ahead of him and said nothing - just looked with his poor thin nostrils working like a rabbit's, and shooting a dry, dirty tongue out every few seconds to moisten his gluey lips. I don't think he heard many of the lies I told him about men who could do anything with an artificial leg that they could do before, but there is really nothing else you can say.

If a wounded man did survive the initial operations, he then had to face the problems of gas-gangrene, a disease caused by infection of the wound. Doctors had no wonder drugs to treat or prevent this killer. A French doctor describes it:

> After forty-eight hours the edges of the wound begin to swell up and turn . . . making it gape . . . The cut surface takes on a curious half-jellified, half-mummified look; then the whole wounded limb begins to swell up and distend in the most extraordinary fashion, turning, as it does so, first an ashy white and then a greenish colour. This is because the tissues are being literally blown out with gas, and on pressing the fingers down on this balloon-like swelling, a distinct crackling or tiny bubbling sensation can be felt.

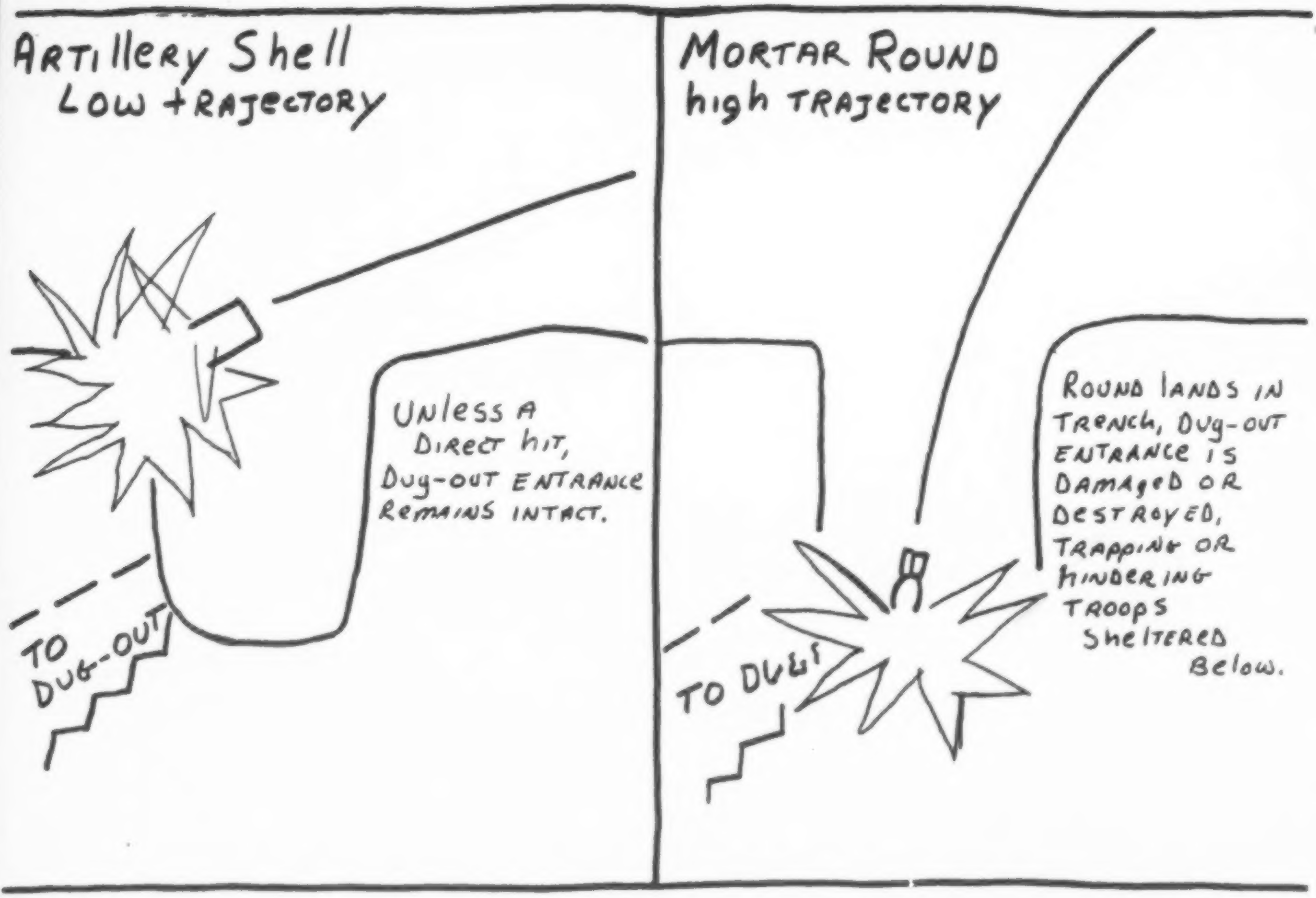
The people at home rarely understood the horror of the war. Young men were encouraged to enlist and fight for their country. In England, young women handed out white feathers as a sign of cowardice to young men not in uniform.

> . . . You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye
> Who cheer when soldier lads march by,
> Sneak home and pray you'll never know
> The hell where youth and laughter go.

SIEGFRIED SASSOON
"SUICIDE IN THE TRENCHES"

Most people thought the front lines were made of great concrete structures providing a relatively safe life for their soldiers. The following French homefront drawing from the war illustrates the ignorance:

10


Artillery Shell
Low trajectory
Unless a Direct hit, Dug-out entrance remains intact.
To Dug-out
Mortar Round
high trajectory
Round lands in Trench, Dug-out entrance is damaged or destroyed, trapping or hindering troops sheltered below.
To Dug-

Through it all most soldiers made the best of it, as there was nothing they could do. The French soldier, by 1917, had reached the breaking point. Mutinies in the French Army threatened to end the war for the Allies. But the British continually showed a dogged determination to "carry on." A British captain commented on his men's ability to take it:

> There is one cheering thing. The men of the battalion - through all . . . through the wet, cold night, hungry and tired, living now in mud and water, with ever prospect of more rain tomorrow - are cheery. Sometimes, back in billets, I hate the men . . . But in a difficult time they show up splendidly. Laughing in mud, joking in water.

In a letter to his wife, Lieutenant - Colonel Rowland Fielding was even more admiring:

> I can never express in writing what I feel about the men in the trenches; and nobody who has not seen them can ever understand . . . You may ask any one of them, any moment of the day or night, 'Are you cold?' or 'Are you wet?' - and you will get but one answer . . . always with a smile - 'Not too cold, sir' or 'Not too wet, sir'. It makes me feel sick.

Finally, this was sung by the soldiers:

> The world wasn't made in a day,
> And Eve didn't ride in a bus,
> But most of the world's in a sandbag,
> And the rest of it's plastered on us.

The war ended on November 11, 1918. Many have tried to describe the war. Here are two that have come close.

> No pen or drawing can convey this country-the normal setting of the battles taking place day and night, month after month. Evil and the incarnate fiend alone can be master of this war, and no glimmer of God's hand is seen anywhere. Sunset and sunrise are blasphemous, they are mockeries to man, only the black rain out of the bruised and swollen clouds all through the bitter black of night is fit atmosphere in such a land. The rain drives on, the stinking mud becomes evilly yellow, the shell-holes fill up with green-white water, the roads and tracks are covered in inches of slime, the black dying trees ooze and sweat and the shells never cease. They alone plunge overhead, tearing away the rotting tree stumps . . . annihilating maiming, maddening, they plunge into the grave which is this land; one huge grave, and cast upon it the poor dead. It is unspeakable, godless, hopeless.
>
> Paul Nash

> And through some mooned Valhalla there will pass
> Battalions and Battalions, scarred from hell;
> The unreturning army that was youth;
> The legions who have suffered and are dust.

This reading was prepared by David L. Zajicek. Excerpts and quotes were taken from the book, Eye-Deep In Hell: Trench Warfare In World War I, by John Ellis.

Chemical Agents: Clouds of Death

Chemical agents, also known as poison gas, became the true horror weapon of World War I. Many veterans, who after the war, would cough and explain, "the gas, you know." Many would carry these effects to the grave, suffering until the day they died.

By the end of 1914, both the Allies and Central Powers were deadlocked on the Western front in Poland. In an attempt to break the stalemate, the Germans experimented with a new weapon, poison gas, near Bolimow, Poland on Sunday, January 3, 1915. They showered the Russian positions with large calibre artillery shells containing a lackry mator or choking agent. Because of the extremely cold weather, the chemical did not vaporize as planned. The Russian soldiers never noticed the gas, and the German attack failed.

The next attempt to use chemical agents to break the deadlock occurred on the Western front at 5:00 p.m. on April 22, 1915 at Ypres on the Western Front. This time the Germans released a greenish-yellow cloud from large canisters. This cloud of death drifted into trenches held by Algerian and overage reservists of the French Army. They had no protection from the gas. Many died, thousands more fled to the rear, yelling "Gaz, Gaz!" with what was left of their lungs. Panic ensued and a four mile gap was opened in the Allied line. German troops were fed into the attack in small groups as many feared the gas they had released and the German commanders were unsure of the effects produced by the gas.

British units and the 1st Canadian Division managed to build a hasty defensive line and seal off the break. The Germans had squandered the surprise break through that both sides would seek in the remaining 3 years of war. They had, in fact, introduced a weapon that would add more horror to the nightmare that was The War in trenches on the Western Front.

Chemical agents would not be the big killer of World War I, but it would be the most horrible. Those who did not die outright would linger in hospital beds, coughing out their lungs for weeks before they breathed their last gasp of agony. Many more would live out their lives after the war enduring the terminal cough of all who inhaled the deadly gases. Many would be prematurely aged, their hair turning white and their skin becoming wrinkled and leathery. Others would be scared for life by the dreaded blister producer, mustard gas. All who served in the war would never forget the huge billowing cloud or the smell of the "odor of death."

Chemical Agents (Poison Gas) used During the First World War

Acute Lung Irritants: These chemical agents kill rapidly in high concentration, slowly in low concentration. They irritate the lungs and other mucous areas, producing fluid buildups in the affected areas. In the lungs, this produces a form of drowning as fluids build up.

Other lung irritants destroy lung tissue by chemically burning the lungs, also producing a massive build up of fluids and drowning.

Most commonly used chemical agents were chlorine, phosgene, and chloropicrin.

Lachrymators (tear producers) and sternutators (sensory irritants of the eyes, nose, and chest): This group of chemical agents was used to incapacitate enemy soldiers rather than to outright kill them. These could also be used to make it very difficult for soldiers to wear their masks. Later, about half an hour or so, a lethal agent would be introduced to kill those unable to keep their masks on.

The most commonly used agents in this group were Benzyl Bromide, Xylyl Bromide, Bromacetone, Acrolein, Diphenyl Chlorarsine, Diphenyl Cyanarsine, and Ethyl-Dichlor-Arsine.

Paralysants: This type of chemical agents were used almost exclusively by the Allies. It killed by slowing down the nervous system, which effected the control of muscles, including the heart and lung muscles, causing death if inhaled in a large enough concentration.

The two chemical agents in this category were Hydrocyanic Acid and Sulphuretted Hydrogen. Both can be immediately fatal between 5,000 to 10,000 parts per 10 million in the air.

Vesicants: This category of chemicals was the worst agent used on the World War I battlefield. Known as "Blister Agents, or "Mustard Gas", these produced very large blisters on any skin tissue it came in contact with. If it came in contact with the eyes, it produced blindness, sometimes temporary, sometimes permanent. If inhaled, the agent produced severe blisters in the lungs. The patient spent 2 to 6 weeks coughing up his lungs until there was nothing left, except death.

Blister agents were very dangerous as they were not a gas that dissipated in 4 to 6 hours but a liquid vapor that could linger for a period of 2 days to 3 weeks. Also, the gas mask was no guarantee of protection as this gas affected any part of the body it came in contact with, even being absorbed through clothing. Blisters appeared 4 to 6 hours after contact. Once the blisters were broken infection usually followed. If a man did not die from the effects, he spent months healing from them.

The most common blister agent was Dichlor-Ethyl-Chloride, also known as mustard gas.

Gas Casualties of World War I

	Non-Fatal	Deaths	Total
Britain	180,597	8,109	188,706
France	182,000	8,000	190,000
United States	71,345	1,462	72,807
Italy	55,373	4,627	60,000
Russia	419,340	56,000	475,340
Germany	191,000	9,000	200,000
Austro-Hungary	97,000	3,000	100,000
Others	9,000	1,000	10,000
TOTAL	1,[illegible],655	91,198	1,296,853

*Note: These figures, exc[illegible] for the United States, are approximate and far too low as they do not inc[illegible], in most cases, those who never received medical care and died on the battle[illegible]elds and were left where they fell.

Chemical Agent production in World War I. (in tons)

Britain	25,735
France	36,955
United States	6,215
Italy	4,100
Russia	3,650
Germany	68,100
Austro-Hungary	5,245
TOTAL	150,000

Written by David L. Zajicek with the help of Tanks and Weapons of World War I edited by Bernard Fitzsimons and The Great War by Correlli Barnett.

World War I: The Cost

The total of dead, wounded, and missing will never be known. It is estimated that 8.5 million combatants died, 21.3 million were wounded, and approximately 14.7 million civilians died between 1914 and 1918 from military action, massacre, starvation, and exposure.

Military Casualties of the Great War

Countries	Total Mobilized	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Percentage of Mobilized Forces in Casualities
Allies					
Russia	12,000,000	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	76.3
France	8,410,000	1,357,000	4,266,000	537,000	73.3
Britain	8,904,467	908,371	2,090,212	191,652	35.8
Italy	5,615,000	650,000	947,000	600,000	39.1
United States	4,355,000	126,000	234,300	4,500	8.2
Others	2,904,343	409,944	343,492	287,938	35.9
TOTALS	42,188,810	5,152,115	12,831,004	4,121,090	52.3
Central Powers					
Germany	11,000,000	1,773,700	4,216,058	1,152,800	64.9
Austro-Hungary	7,800,000	1,200,000	3,620,000	2,200,000	90.0
Turkey	2,850,000	325,000	400,000	250,000	34.2
Bulgaria	1,200,000	87,500	152,390	27,029	22.2
TOTALS	22,850,000	3,386,200	8,388,448	3,629,829	67.4
GRAND TOTALS	65,038,810	8,538,315	21,219,452	7,750,914	57.6

*NOTE: During World War I, the loss per day of combatants was 5,509. During the American Civil War, which lasted about the same amount of time (1861-1865) and was the bloodiest war in American history. The loss of soldiers per day was 518.

Civilian Casualties of World War I

Deaths at sea and in air raids:	100,000*
Deaths due to famine, starvation, and disease:	4,642,296*
Massacre of Armenians, Syrians, Jews, and Greeks:	4,000,000*
Deaths from influenza, 1919, as a result of World War I	6,000,000*

*Estimated, but at least this many dead

TOTAL	14,742,296

Monetary Cost of the War (expenditures)

Direct costs, both Allies and Central Powers:	$186,333,637,000
Indirect costs, both Allies and Central Powers:	$151,646,942,560
TOTAL:	$337,980,579,560

*NOTES:

1) The war was mainly fought on credit as the available gold at the outbreak of the war was sufficient for only 40 to 50 days of modern warfare.

2) From 1914 to 1917, the average cost per day was $123 million.

3) During the last year of the war, 1918, the average cost of the war rose to $224 million.

4) By June 30, 1919, the United States had spent $27,729,000,000 on the war and had made loans of more than $9,455,000,000 to the Allies. Only Finland managed to pay back, in full, its loans to the United States. The rest of the loans were written off during the 1930's and after World War II.

All information compiled by David L. Zajicek from the following sources:

____________________, "World War I: The Cost of the War", Compton's Encyclopedia, Volume 25, page 262. Chicago: F. E. Compton Company, 1985.

Esposito, Col. Vincent J., "World War I: Costs of the War", Encyclopedia Americana U.S. Constitutional Bicentennial Commemorative Edition, Volume 29, pp. 358-60. Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier, Inc., 1987.

Taylor, D. J. P. (Ed.), "Balance Sheet of the First World War", 20th Century, Volume 7, page 881. Milwaukee: Purnell Reference Books, 1979.

Appendix 5

SCAVENGER HUNT

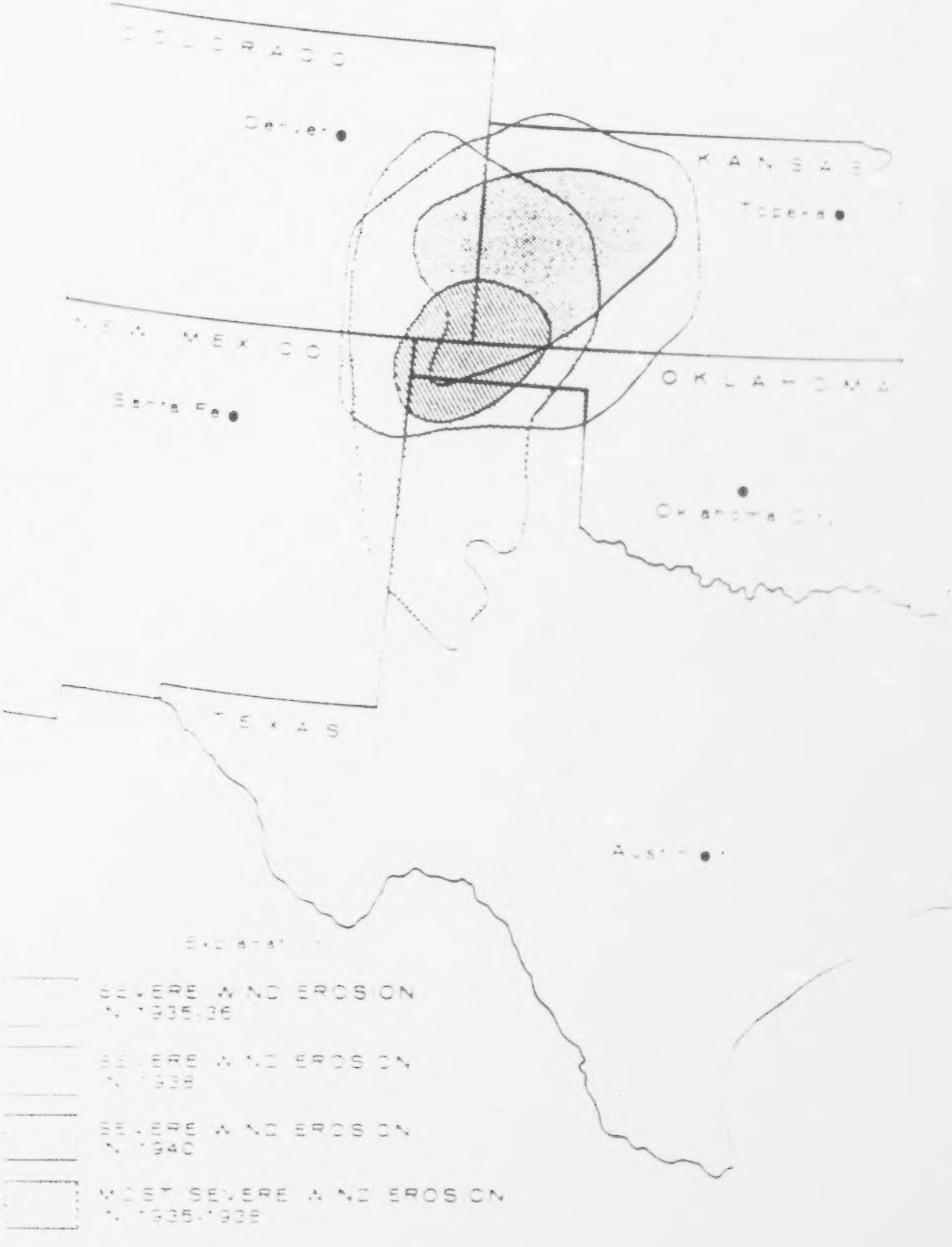
BILL OF RIGHTS AS EXPLORED IN FICTION

The Grapes of Wrath
John Steinbeck

During the semester we spent some time examining the U.S. Bill of Rights, with special emphasis on the rights protected by the first amendment. Your job is to locate, document, and copy (when possible) excerpts from novels, poems, or short stories that explore and/or examine issues of human rights. Feel free to work in teams, and to use your notes and/or the Wisconsin Bar's pamphlet on the Bill of Rights. Be sure to identify the right(s) involved in each of your excerpts. Each acceptable excerpt is worth from 10 to 20 points. Good luck.

EXTENT OF AREA SUBJECT TO SEVERE WIND EROSION

1935-1940

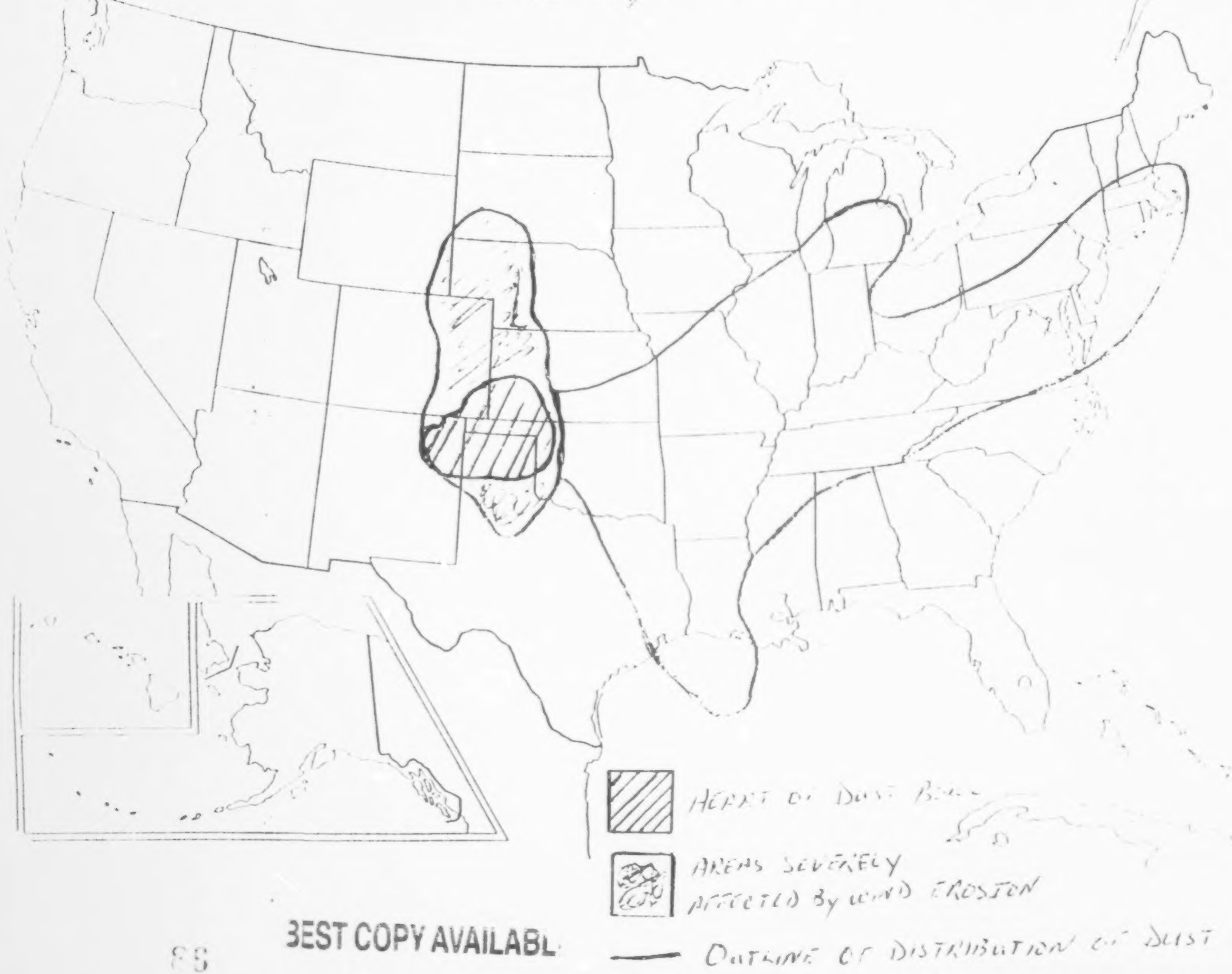

COLORADO
Denver
KANSAS
Topeka
NEW MEXICO
Santa Fe
OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma City
TEXAS
Austin
Explanation
SEVERE WIND EROSION IN 1935-36
SEVERE WIND EROSION IN 1938
SEVERE WIND EROSION IN 1940
MOST SEVERE WIND EROSION IN 1935-1938

NAME ____________

United States Outline Map

DATE ____________

GEOGRAPHIC SETTING


▨ HEART OF DUST BOWL
AREAS SEVERELY AFFECTED BY WIND EROSION
OUTLINE OF DISTRIBUTION OF DUST

Some dust storms moved as fast as 90 miles per hour across the Great Plains.

America's Great Plains

The Tragedy of the Dust Bowl

They'd seen storms before, and some of them were pretty bad. Farmers couldn't help but see bad storms on the Great Plains. Such things as summer heat above 100 degrees and winter snowbanks 20 feet high are a part of life there. They make farmers tough. But the people of the Great Plains had never seen anything quite like the storm they had in 1934.

On May 9, a cloud of brown dust swelled up from the plains of Montana and Wyoming. It blew forcefully toward North and South Dakota. The cloud thickened as it moved east. By the time it reached Chicago, dirt was falling from the sky like snow. On May 11, the cloud reached the Atlantic Ocean. Midwestern and Eastern Americans had

[illegible] the Dust Bowl.

The Dust Bowl is an area of the Great Plains. It covers parts of Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. From 1933 to 1939, dust storms and dry weather turned this farmland into a bleak desert wasteland. How did it happen?

The early 1930s was a period of drought. In those years, little or no rain fell on the southern Great Plains. When the drought combined with high heat, sometimes above 110 degrees, the earth dried and cracked. Normally, the hardy grass of the Great Plains would have held this dry earth in place. But when the winds came in 1934, the grasslands were gone. During and after the Great War, farmers had gradually plowed away the grasslands. Winter wheat was planted, but the wheat didn't hold the soil. So when the windstorms of the 1930s hit, the land could simply blow away.

And blow away it did. The Soil Conservation Corps kept track of the storms where visibility was less than one mile. In 1933 there were 14 such storms. In 1935 there were 40. And in 1938 a record 61 storms hit. More than 850 million tons of earth were lost to the winds.

The storms were damaging and fierce. Imagine a wall of dust five miles high as it raced over the plains at speeds of up to 60 miles per hour. Cars stopped. People ran for cover. The storm might last for minutes or hours. When it was over, everyone around coughed and wiped dust from their eyes.

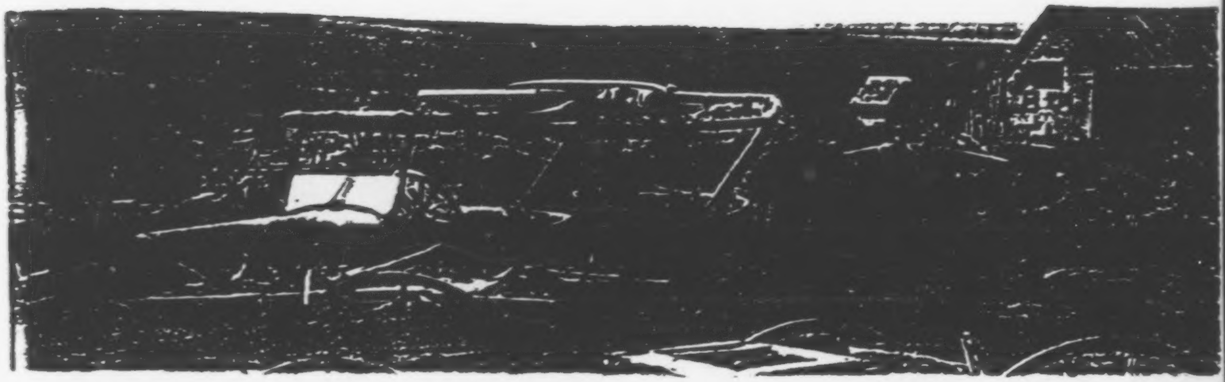
One seven-year-old boy was not so lucky. He wandered away in a storm. Later he was found dead in a high drift of dust. Unprotected animals had the same fate. Dead cattle, horses, birds, and rabbits were found scattered across the land. All were choked by the storms.

Money from FDR, But No Rain

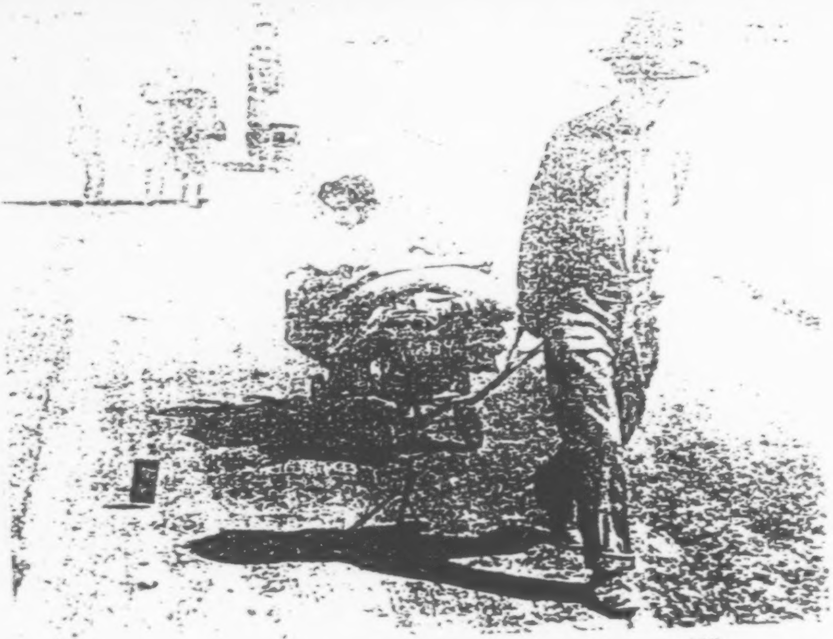
By 1934 the Dust Bowl was worse than ever. President Roosevelt decided that something had to be done. He paid no attention to well-meaning Americans who wanted to cover the Dust Bowl with cement. Millions of federal dollars were sent to the Dust Bowl states. The money was used to feed starving cattle and to plow [illegible] the land to keep it from blowing away. The CCC replanted 10 [illegible] acres of Dust Bowl farmland with forests. Lines of trees called windbreaks were set out to [illegible] planted fields from the wind. Farmers were taught which crops to grow and how to plant them.

Still, the storms kept coming. More and more land kept blowing away. It seemed that all the money in the world couldn't stop it. "You gave us beer," the people told Roosevelt. "Now give us rain." It was the one thing that he could not do. ■

> "You gave us beer," the people told Roosevelt. "Now give us rain."



Some property was almost completely swallowed up by the dust storms.



A family left homeless by the dust storms heads west in June 1938.

Their Live
with th

Now [illegible]

[illegible] Dust Bowl [illegible] land, dead livestock [illegible] buried in dust. So [illegible] the Dust Bowl population [illegible] and moved on to greener pastures in the 1930s. Or so they thought.

They set out by the hundreds and thousands along the western roads, looking for work. But these were the Depression years, so there was little work to find. Western states did not want the Dust Bowlers, whom they called "Okies." These states already had enough homeless, enough jobless, enough mouths to feed. Road signs told the Okies to go home. But home was

The face of this Oklahoma woman tells the sad story of the Dust Bowl families.

Some Things Are Still Funny

Despite all their hardships and suffering, many Dust Bowlers maintained a sense of humor during their troubles. The following story illustrates the point.

A man driving a car [illegible] gallon cowboy hat resting on a high pile of dust. He stopped and [illegible] up the hat. Under it [illegible] of a farmer, alive and [illegible]

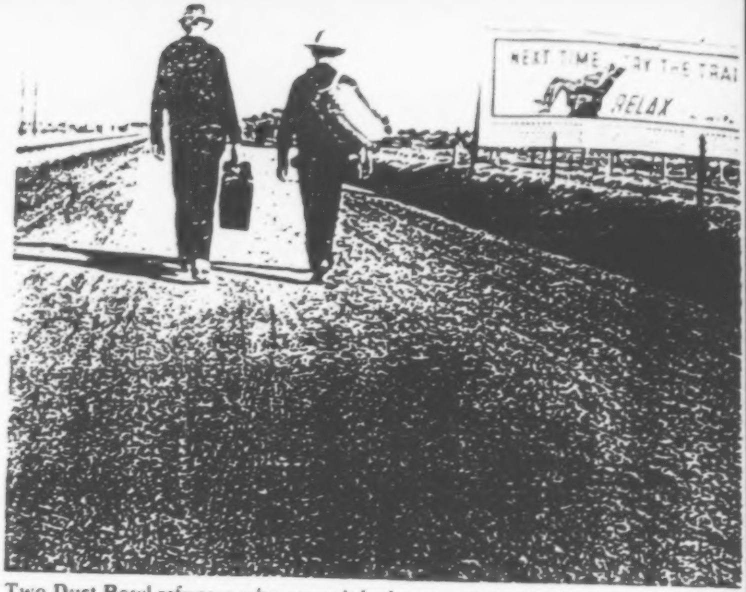
"Can I help you?" the man asked the farmer. "[illegible] here. I can give you a ride into town."

"No thanks," said the farmer. "I can make it on my own. I'm on a horse."

Were "Gone Wind"

buried under a pile of dust now. There was no turning back.

Many of the Dust Bowlers have ended up in California. There they travel from farm to farm picking fruit and vegetables. Pay is low. For a long day of picking grapes a worker might earn $1.25. The farm owner keeps 25 cents of this pay for rent. In return, the worker gets a floorless wooden shack to sleep in. There is no running water, no blanket. Families of eight can be found sleeping in these tiny shelters. But few argue with the owners about the pay or the conditions. For every man who will not work, there are ten to take his place. This seems to be the story of the 1930s. ●


NEXT TIME TRY THE TRAI
RELAX

Two Dust Bowl refugees who weren't lucky enough to take the advice of the billboard sign.

Many Dust Bowl families moved to California. There they picked fruits and vegetables for one dollar a day.

End O' My Line

It isn't hard to find out more about Dust Bowlers. Their lives are the subjects of books, pictures, and songs. John Steinbeck's book *The Grapes of Wrath,* paints a picture of their troubles with powerful and sad words. The photographs of Dorothea Lange show the hungry faces of women and children. And Woody Guthrie sings of their sorrows in his songs. This verse from Guthrie's song, *End O' My Line,* gives other Americans an idea of what the Great Plains farmers are feeling:

Long about Nineteen thirty-one
My field burnt up in the
boiling sun.
Long about Nineteen thirty-two,
Dust did rise and the dust it
blew.
End o' my line, end o' my line,
I reckon I come to the end o'
my line.

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Dirty Thirties Filled with Joys and Woes

By Sister Margaret Peter
Jefferson, Wisconsin

THE DUST STORMS of the 1930s provided some unique experiences for me as a child on a South Dakota farm.

Two or three of us kids often watched the storms approach from the west window of our house. We could see the characteristic huge, rapidly moving cloud when a storm was miles away. We watched it roll across the fields, envelop the school building a half-mile down the road and blot out our view of the neighbor's house.

"Here it comes!" we'd say, then we'd run to the east side of the house to see if the strong wind would blow down our outhouse. Sometimes it did.

A favorite chore during those years was collecting Russian thistles. Dad considered it necessary work to be done each fall, but the three kids who helped considered it a special celebration. We walked through the fields with pitchforks, collecting hundreds of these tumbleweeds, most of them wind-driven into barbed wire fences.

Loved a Thistle Chase

It was fun to race a blowing thistle across a field on a windy day. The strong wind tore up the dried thistle by its shallow roots and sent it flying across the dusty field. I could run like the wind for a short distance, but often a thistle would outdistance me. So then I'd have to trail behind and catch up when the thistle was snagged by a fence or a tall weed.

I know that gathering those prickly thistles and packing them firmly into a tight stack must have been hard, sweaty work, but I remember only the joy of it. The more thistles we gathered, the larger the bonfire we would enjoy that evening, the flames shooting high and the heat waves forcing us back. We felt close to nature and each other as we watched in silence, wishing the bonfire to last forever.

During the late [illegible] farm that had two apple [illegible] outside the bedroom my [illegible] and I shared. We'd [illegible] and gaze at the trees [illegible] white blossoms, breathing deeply of their fragrance.

I tried to live the moment so fully I would never forget it. We watched as the blossoms magically turned to tiny apples. I eagerly awaited the day when the apples would be ripe. Mom had been promising us apple pie, apple dumplings, applesauce and apples for school lunches—a rare treat.

Then one fateful day, a dark cloud moved toward our farm. An ominous whirring sound emanated from the cloud's ever-changing shape as it settled on our field of grain. Millions of grasshoppers devoured our entire crop.

We watched helplessly, listening to the enemy ravage our once-promising field of wheat. They outnumbered us 10 million to one.

The grasshoppers weren't

LACK OF RAIN **left behind barren farmyards and fields throughout the nation's midsection (top photo), making it virtually impossible to raise crops. The Colorado farmer at left had piles of dust on his land that were as tall as 9 ft.**

with just destroying our fields. They descended on our beloved apple trees, too. My sister and I climbed the trees and tried to kill off the hoppers one by one, but they escaped us easily.

I had another idea. I grabbed a large washtub from the porch and placed it under one tree. Dorothy and I filled the tub with water from the stock tank, then climbed the tree and tried to knock the grasshoppers into the tub so they would drown.

Fought Losing Battle

Our mother came out of the kitchen and told us, "You can't fight grasshoppers. There's nothing you can do to stop them." She smiled as we continued our desperate efforts. "I know you want to help," she said, "but there's nothing you can do."

Although I didn't want to give up, I knew Mom was right. You can't fight grasshoppers. I watched as they ate all the leaves from our trees and then attacked the tiny apples. Soon the tree was bare except for the apple cores clinging to the stripped branches. I cried then, just as I do now, writing this nearly 60 years later. It was my only experience of total defeat.

Despite yet another complete crop loss, my parents accepted the situation and continued to trust in the goodness of God. The memory of that faith has influenced my whole life. It probably had a lot to do with my becoming a Franciscan nun. ◆

Letters Relate Trials of Life in Dust Bowl

THESE LETTERS were written in the 1930s by a Dust Bowl survivor from Mc Cracken, Kansas. Wanda Childers of Alvin, Wisconsin says the writer was one of her husband's relatives.

March 24, 1935

Dear Family,

Did some of you think that you had a dust storm? I'll tell you what it was. It was us shaking our bedding, carpets, etc.

For over a week we have been having troublesome times. The dust is something fierce. Sometimes it lets up enough so we can see around, even the sun may shine for a little time, then we have a frenzied time of cleaning, anticipating the comfort of a clean feeling once more.

We keep the doors and windows all shut tight, with wet papers on the sills. The tiny particles of dirt sift right through the walls. Two different times it has been an inch thick on my kitchen floor.

Our faces look like coal miners', our hair is gray and stiff with dirt and we grind dirt in our teeth. We have to wash everything just before we eat it and make it as snappy as possible. Sometimes there is a fog all through the house and all we can do about it is sit on our dusty chairs and see that fog settle slowly and silently over everything.

When we open the door, swirling whirlwinds of soil beat against us unmercifully, and we are glad to go back inside and sit choking in the dirt. We couldn't see the streetlight just in front of the house.

One morning, early, I went out during a lull, and when I started to return I couldn't see the house. I knew the direction, so I kept on coming, and was quite close before I could even see the outline. It sure made me feel funny.

There has not been much school this week. It let up a little yesterday and Fred went with the janitor and they carried dirt out of the church by the scoopful. Four of them worked all afternoon. We were able to have church this morning, but I think many stayed home to clean.

A lot of dirt is blowing now, but it's not dangerous to be out in it. This dirt is all loose, any little wind will stir it, and there will be no relief until we get rain. If it doesn't come soon there will be lots of suffering. If we spit or blow our noses we get mud. We have quite a little trouble with our chests. I understand a good many have pneumonia.

As for gardens, we had ours plowed, but now we do not know whether we have more or less soil. It's useless to plant anything.

—*Grace*

April 30, 1935

Dear Family,

Here it is the last day of April and a wild day at that. I did not think when I wrote on the 24th of March that we would still be having storms. Part of the time today we can see a block. Then it will lift till we can see two blocks.

O.E. thought I took the prize before for the best dust story. Well, I have had much experience since then. It's almost useless to tell you for you can hardly conceive how it would be. We are very, very weary fighting dirt.

Yesterday was a lovely day, the first whole day we have had that there was no dust in the air. Today is making up for it. There are some days when it is not nearly so bad; then we get out and do everything we can.

One day I went with Fred over to Brownell. The horizon seemed to be about a quarter of a mile all around us. It sort of seemed we were set out in a little world by ourselves.

Sunday afternoon it was not very bad. I went with some other people to see about some sick folks who lived 8 or 9 miles southwest. Along the road I saw piles of powdery dust 5 and 6 ft. deep. There have been several auto accidents caused by dust. This sand and dust is awful hard on car engines.

We have had two small local showers, which would clear the air for half a day, but soon it would be coming again from the dry regions. I think Brownell has not had a drop of rain yet. Cows look pitiful. Many people are not able to buy feed. Around town here we have some grass, which our little rains started, but out there where there was no rain, there is nothing.

When the storms came within miles, there was so much electricity in the air, it interfered much with our radio. One fellow was telling us that he had his turned off, but still it seemed to make noise.

—*Grace*

A Note from the Editor

You are about to take a journey backward in time. Your means of transportation will be the written word and some glorious photographs. Your journey will take you, decade by decade, through the 20th century — our century.

Many of the events described in each issue of *Our Century* magazine are famous. Some have perhaps been forgotten. Many of the people were extraordinary, some merely ordinary, a few certainly evil. But all these events and people have one thing in common: they have made this century a fascinating and momentous one.

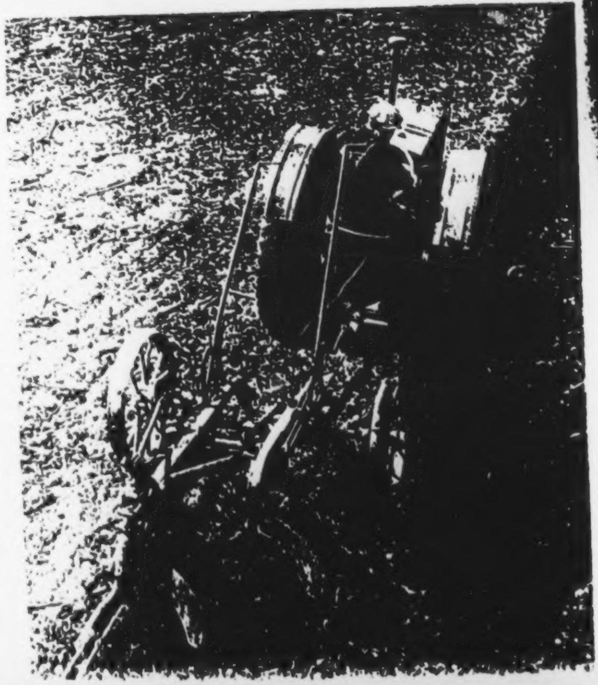
All of us who worked on *Our Century* hope you find your journey into the past interesting and educational. And most of all we hope you enjoy these "snapshots in time" as much as we enjoyed recapturing them for you.

Tony Napolo
Editor-in-Chief, *Our Century*

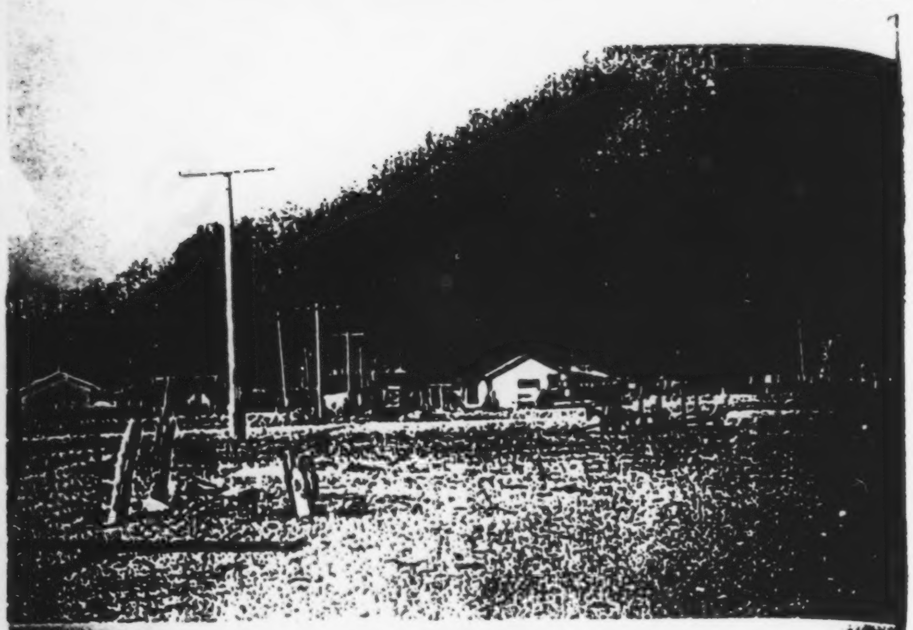
Statistics

	1930	1940
Population of the United States	123.1 million	131.7 million
Number of states in the United States	48	48
Number of cities with populations over 1 million	5	9
Population by race:		
White	110.3 million	118.2 million
Negro	11.9 million	12.8 million
Other	878,078	713,367
Population by sex:		
Male	62.2 million	66.1 million
Female	60.9 million	65.6 million
Population per square mile	41.2	44.2
Life expectancy in years:		
Male	58.1	60.8
Female	61.6	68.2
Three leading causes of death	Heart disease Influenza and pneumonia Malignant tumors	Heart disease Malignant tumors Influenza and pneumonia
Unemployment rate (14 and over)	8.7%	14.6%
Number of workers belonging to a union	3.6 million	8.1 million
Number of workers' strikes	637	2,508
Average hourly pay of worker in manufacturing plant	55¢	66¢
Illiteracy rate	4.3%	2.9%
School enrollment (public secondary)	4,399,000	6,601,000
Percent of all 17 year olds who graduated from high school	49%	28.8%
College degrees—Bachelors:		
Male	73,600	109,000
Female	48,800	77,000
Number of lynchings	21	5
Attendance at movies (weekly)	90 million	80 million
Attendance at baseball games (yearly)	10.2 million	10 million
Prices:		
dozen eggs	44¢	33¢
quart of milk	14¢	13¢
loaf of bread	9¢	8¢
pound of butter	46¢	36¢
pound of coffee	39¢	21¢
dozen oranges	57¢	29¢

Standing in its path—same place, same storm. (*Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library*)



OPPOSITE, TOP In an Arthur Rothstein photograph taken in Kaufman County, Texas, in August 1936, a cotton plantation owner's daughter weighs cotton sacks while transient pickers wait to be told what they have earned at the end of a long day. A few years before, the pickers might well have been among the 581,000 white and 136,000 African American sharecroppers or tenant farmers who then worked the plantations of the Deep South, but one of the unintended consequences of the New Deal's agricultural programs was the displacement of tens of thousands of such people. The group of evicted sharecroppers huddled in a makeshift camp ABOVE was just one of hundreds that lined a hundred miles of highway between Sikeston, Missouri, and the Arkansas state line in the winter of 1935–36. Another cause of displacement was a labor saving tractor, OPPOSITE, used on an all-electric, all-mechanized demonstration farm established in Virginia by the Interior Department in the summer of 1936.

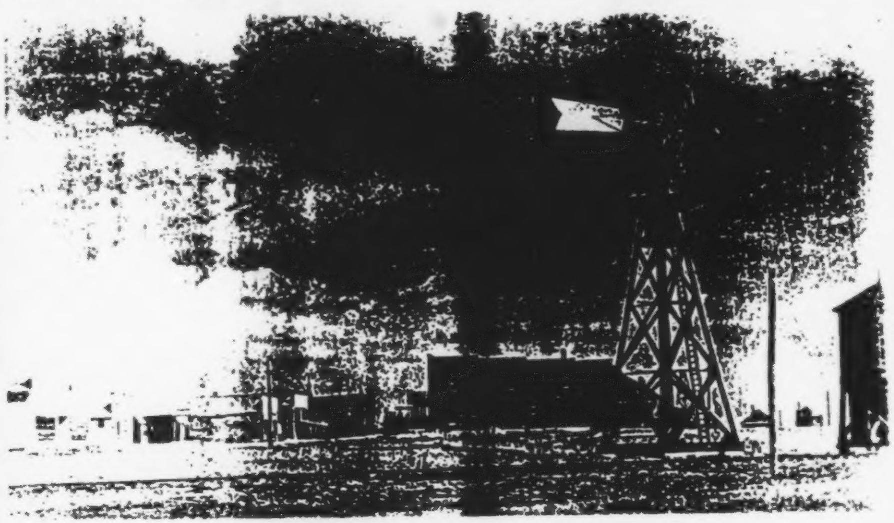


Library of Congress

(Above) Dust storm in Baca Co., Colorado, (below) Sallisaw, Oklahoma, 1936, Lange photo

Library of Congress

GOODWINS
CAFE
FALSTAFF
FALSTAFF
Coca-Cola



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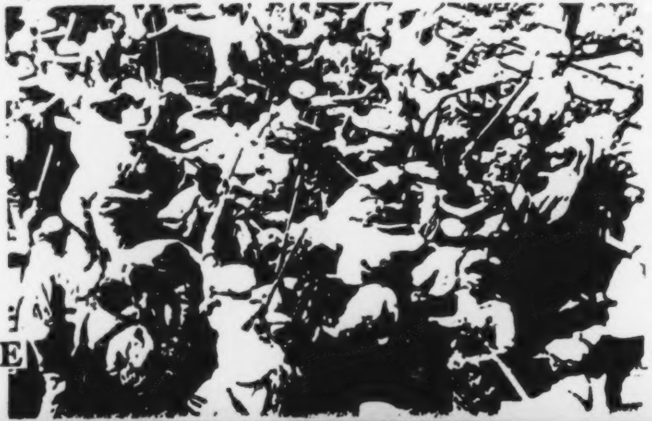
(Above) Kesta, Colorado an abandoned town, 1939, (right) farmer in Pennington Co., South Dakota 1936. This kind of marginal farming was curtailed in many areas and the people resettled under federal land reclamation programs, (below) union and nonunion workers clash outside a packing plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota during a strike in 1935

Library of Congress

European Picture Service



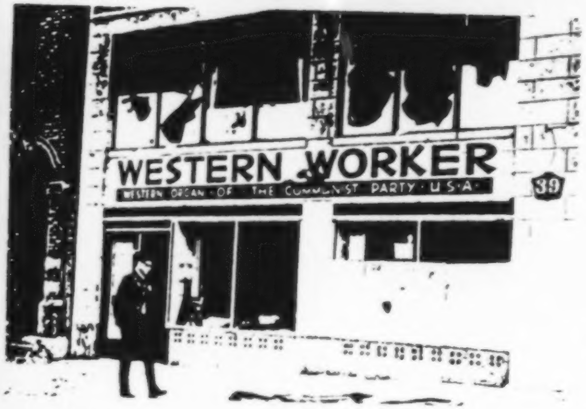
Largely ignored by the government and the labor movement alike, the migrant labor population of the United States continued to wander the country like an invisible army. Even at the end of the decade, estimates put the number of migrants at four million people nationwide. Whether they were housed in filthy company shacks, like the cannery workers of Dania, Florida, 1937, OPPOSITE, BOTTOM, *or in ghastly ditch camps of California, like the migrant mother and her children found by photographer Dorothea Lange in a pea pickers camp in 1936,* OPPOSITE, TOP, *the living conditions of these migrant families were dreadful — as another 1936 Lange photograph,* ABOVE, *demonstrates with brutal simplicity. For the vast majority, things never got any better, even after the federal government instituted its migratory housing program*

PETITION
Opposing
FEDERAL MIGRATORY
LABOR CAMP
Sign Here

Library of Congress

(Left) Registering opposition to the government's migratory labor camp in Portland Ore. 1939

European Picture Service


WESTERN WORKER
WESTERN ORGAN · OF · THE COMMUNIST PARTY · U·S·A·
39

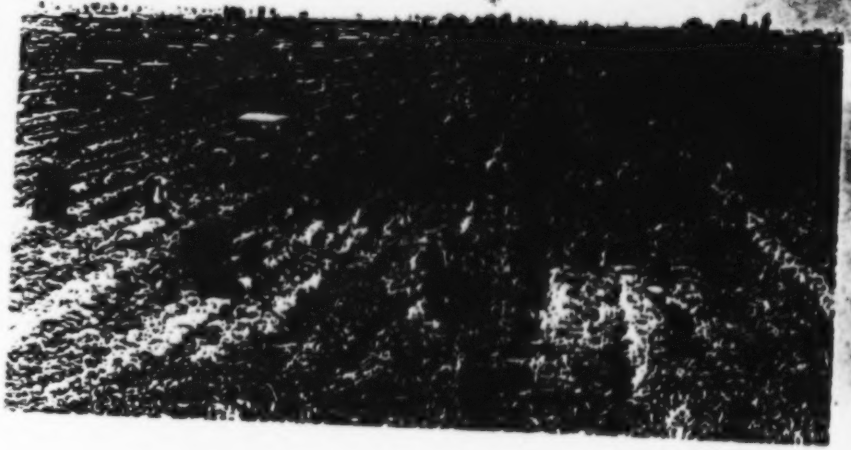
(Left) Police inspecting damage to the headquarters of the "Western Worker," a Communist publication in San Francisco. 1934

European Picture Service

(Below) Demonstrators outside of City County Building of Seattle Wash. protesting the county's employment relief system regarded as forced labor at slave wages.

(Right) Gang of pea pickers riding out to the fields in the labor contractor's truck. Generally a percentage of the picker's take went for this transportation. (center) large scale gang labor picking carrots in the Imperial Valley, California. With gang labor the field is cleared very fast, and a saving is made on hourly pay, but the pickers, working on a piece-work basis, can earn only a few dollars a day and are quickly out of work. (below) weighing baskets of peas. The pickers are then paid by the pound, either on the spot or at the end of the day.

(all) Library of Congress



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OPPOSITE PAGE (top) A migratory Mexican farm worker standing outside his home located near a pea field in Imperial Valley, Calif. 1937 (center) camp of two families along U.S. 99 in Kern Co., Calif. 1939 (bottom) living conditions of the less fortunate in Marysville, Calif. 1935. All photographs by Dorothea Lange for the FSA

(Left) Family who travelled to Toppenish in Yakima Valley, Wash., by freight train in 1939; (below) a 25-year-old itinerant on a railroad car in California, 1939, both photographs by Dorothea Lange

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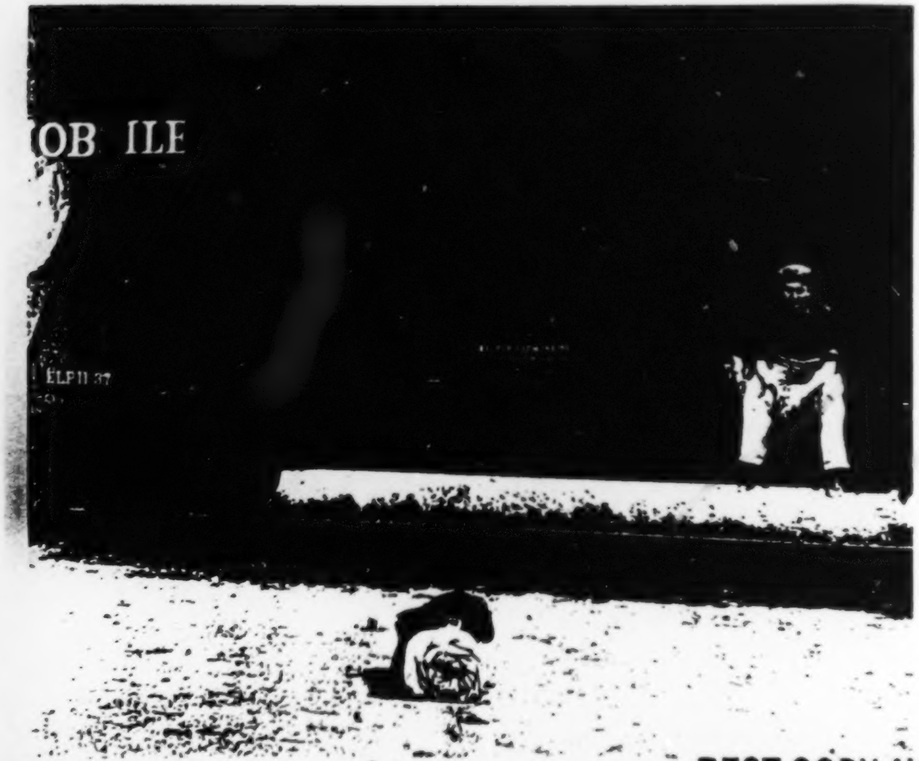

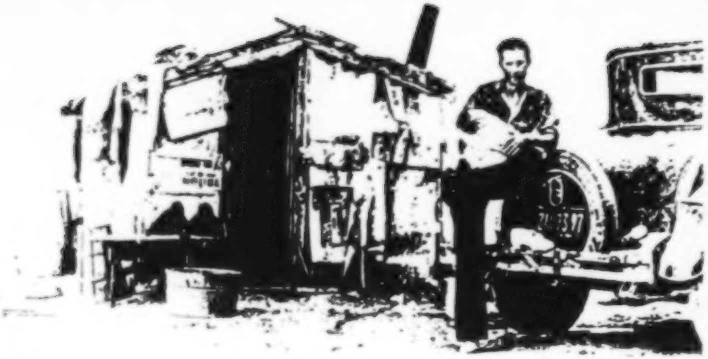

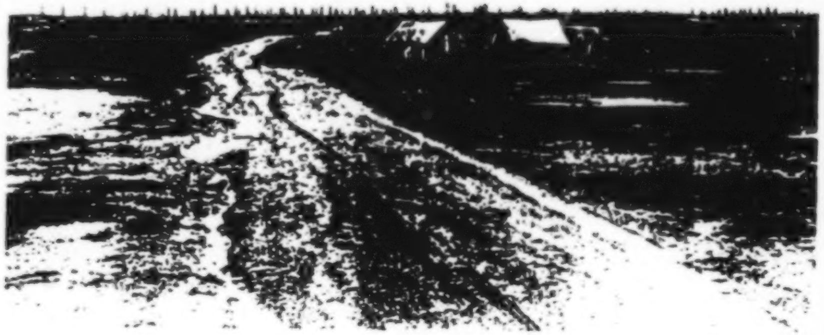

[illegible]

1. Where was the Dust Bowl located? Why there?

2. What part did the people play in causing the problem?

3. What did each of the following have to do with the Dust Bowl?

   a) Climate

   b) Rain

   c) [illegible]

   d) World War I

4. [illegible] Why Not?

*** WAUSAU EAST HIGH SCHOOL ***

The Dust Bowl and The Grapes of Wrath

Today's Date: May 10. 1995

Q
779 Official images : New Deal photography. Washington. D.C. :
OFF Smithsonian Institution Press. c1987.
"The record itself" Maren Stange -- Command performances Pete Daniel -- Publicity. husbandry. and technocracy Maren Stange -- Figures of the future Sally Stein -- Art and document Merry A. Foresta.

Q
973.91 We had everything but money : love and sharing saw America's
Weh families through the Great Depression. Greendale, Wis. : Reminisce Books. 1992.

331.5 Agee. James.
AGE Let us now praise famous men : three tenant families. Houghton Mifflin. 1980.

973.917 Badger. Anthony J.
Bad The new deal : the depression years. 1933-40. Houndmills. Basingstoke. Hampshire : Macmillan. 1989.
Discusses the prominent figures in the New Deal programs and the plight of the people and the influence of the New Deal on their lives.

R Benton. William.
973.08 The annals of America. Chicago : Encyclopedia Britannica. 1968.

921 Bourke-White. Margaret.
BOU Portrait of myself. New York. Simon and Schuster. 1963.

779 Dacapo. P.
DAC Walker Evans. photographs for the Farm Security Administration. 1935-1938 : a catalog of photographic prints available from the Farm Security Administration collection in the Library of Congress. New York : Da Capo Press. 1975. c1973.

973.917 Davies. Wallace Evan.
DAV The New Deal : interpretations. Macmillan. 1964.

973.917 Degler. Carl N..
DEG The New Deal. Chicago. Quadrangle Books [1970]

973.917 Freidel. Frank Burt.
FRE The New Deal and the American people. Englewood Cliffs. N.J.. Prentice-Hall [1964]

917.3 Lange. Dorothea.
LAN An American exodus : a record of human erosion. New York : Arno

Press. 1975. c1939.

[illegible].978 Lauber. Patricia.
LAU Dust bowl : the story of man on the Great Plains. Coward McCann. 1958.

309.173 Meltzer. Milton.
MEL Brother, can you spare a dime: the Great Depression, 1929-1933. New York. Knopf [1969]

Q Rothstein. Arthur.
973.91 The depression years. New York : Dover Publications, c1978.

973.91 Schraff. Ann E.
Sch The Great Depression and the New Deal : America's economic collapse and recovery. New York : Watts, 1990.

330.973 Sternsher. Bernard.
STE Hitting home: the Great Depression in town and country. Chicago. Quadrangle Books. 1970.

Depression city, by D. M. Katzman.--Unemployment relief in Philadelphia, 1930-1932, by B. F. Schwartz.--Communists and Fascists in a Southern city: Atlanta, 1930, by J. H. Moore.--The depression in Harlem, by Federal Writers Project.--Frantic farmers fight law, by F. D. DiLeva.--The Farmers Holiday Association strike, August 1932, by J. L. Shover.--The economic effects of drouth and depression upon Custer County, 1929-1942, by M. T. Latta.--The Harlan County coal strike of 1931, by T. Bubka.--Oklahoma tribes, the Great Depression, and the Indian Bureau, by B. T. Quinten.--When the banks closed, by W. H. Dervey.--Orange County during the depressed thirties, by R. L. Pritchard.--Burlington since the 1930's, by C. Johnson. Suggested reading (p. 283-291)

309.173 Terkel. Studs.
TER Hard times. New York : Washington Square Press, 1970.

973.917 Watkins. T. H.
WAT The Great Depression : America in the 1930s. Boston : Little Brown. 1993.

973.917 Winslow. Susan.
BRO Brother, can you spare a dime? : America from the Wall Street crash to Pearl Harbor : an illustrated documentary. New York : Paddington Press. c1976.

Photos and writings from the 1930's are organized by topics such as the stock market crash, the Kansas dust storms, gangsters and bank robbers.

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+*+ WAUSAU EAST HIGH SCHOOL +*+

The Dust Bowl and The Grapes of Wrath

Page [illegible]

Today's Date: May 10, 1995

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978 WOR Worster, Donald.
Dust Bowl : the southern plains in the 1930s. New York : Oxford University Press, 1979.
Discusses the tragedy that followed the breaking of the land in America's superb western grasslands, and points out useful lessons from it.

973.917 ZIN Zinn, Howard.
New Deal thought. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1966]

Film: "Grapes of Wrath"
Laser Disc Settings

Side I

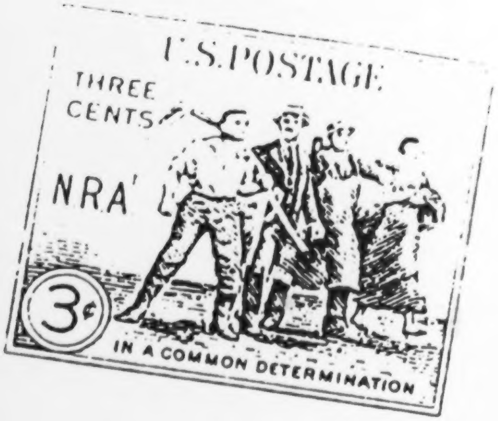
Time: 1:21 - 1:57 = written (on screen) introduction
1:58 - 4:59 = Tom Joad returns/truck driver
5:00 - 10:30 = Tom meets Casey - walk to farm
10:30 - 20:00 = Find Muley - describes sharecroppers thrown off land/bulldozers
20:00 - 26:50 = Family at Uncle John's/Tom and Casey show up -read California handbill
26:50 - 38:25 = Packing up the truck/Ma leaving house. Grandpa not leav ing
38:26 - 42:00 = First part of trip/Grandpa dieing at wayside - End side I

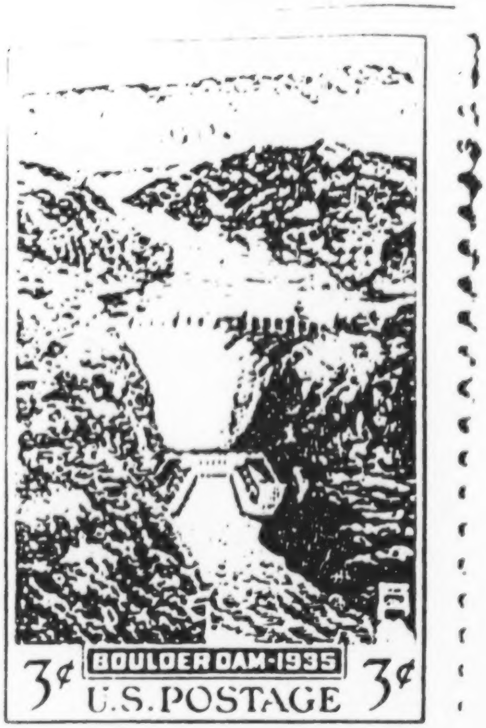
Side II

Time: 00 - 1:24 = First migrant camp
1:25 - 5:30 = Camp discussion - handbills
5:31 - 9:20 = Gas station/restaurant (loaf of bread)
9:21 - 13:06 = Trip through New Mexico, Ariz. Agricultur[illegible]nt. Colorado River
13:07 - 15:45 = Last stop before desert crossing. Gas [illegible]nts comments
15:46 - 19:15 = Crossing desert/Connie and Rosesh[illegible] Grandma gets sick - agriculture inspection
19:16 - 21:24 = Pushing truck into California - Grandm[illegible]
21:25 - 23:02 = Policeman in California - handbill quest[illegible]d
23:03 - 27:57 = Migrant camp - hungry children
28:00 - 32:26 = Hire workers illegally out of camp. Woman sh[illegible]sey takes blame - Tom hides
32:27 - 34:13 = Pack-up to leave camp - Connie leaves Rosesharron
34:13 - 36:36 = Leave camp - meet angry towns people
36:36 - 37:43 = Flat tire
37:44 - 40:10 = Get hired to pick peaches/by strike breakers (Spencer)
40:10 - 43:37 = Inside "private" camp. End side II

Side III

Time: 00 - 1:11 = Evening meal/camp store prices
1:12 - 6:02 = Tom goes to strikers camp outside camp
6:03 - 12:50 = Casey killed/Tom kills man. Tom gets back to cabin. (Ma and Tom talk)
12:50 - 15:49 = Pack truck to leave/hide Tom
15:50 - 22:47 = Get to "government camp"/new rules. People run camps/Saturday night dance
22:48 - 29:57 = Local law officials try to break-up dance
29:58 - 39:06 = Police come to govt. camp-Tom leaves. Long talk with mother about his future. Tom leaves
39:07 - 43:22 = Family packs up - Ma - Pa talk in truck - final scene - End side III


U.S. POSTAGE
THREE CENTS
NRA
3¢
IN A COMMON DETERMINATION


BOULDER DAM-1935
3¢
U.S. POSTAGE
3¢

Can the vast Ogallala Aquifer survive man?

Water collected over the eons

By The Associated Press

The first humans on the High Plains, the Indians, lived off the grazing bison and were not agrarians, not dependent on rainfall to grow crops.

They knew there were mountains to the west, the Rockies. But they did not relate them to the grass beneath their ponies' hooves, assuredly not to what lay beneath that, the vast underground sea now known as the Ogallala Aquifer.

The Rockies are an upthrust of all those pushings and shovings of Earth's crust during countless epochs. Erosive wind and ice and water blew and washed the upstart mountains down their own flanks onto a former sea floor.

Running water cut riverbeds, canyons, gullies. Tectonic plates kept colliding, squeezing up the mountains. The canyons and gullies kept filling up with gravel carried by water and sand blown by wind. The result was a flat plain tilted slightly downward and eastward, arid in the rain shadow of the mountains.

Its porous materials became a massive sponge, catching runoff and the old rainfall over the ages. In a good year rain might add 6 inches or more.

If the sponge were squeezed dry, it would take hundreds, thousands of years to fill up again.

EDITOR'S NOTE — It's an underground sea of fresh water that helped transform The Great American Desert into fertile farmland that last year produced $20 billion worth of food and fiber. But can the Ogallala Aquifer survive the onslaught of man's insatiable hand on the spigot and chemical barrel? Maybe yes, maybe no.

OGALLALA, Neb. — A sign of terrible times on an abandoned sod hut in the 1800s on the treeless, dry, heartless heart of America:

"90 miles to wood, 20 miles to water. Gone back East to wifes family."

A westbound migrant, aglow with his future on the High Plains: "This would be fine country if it just had water."

A bitter sodbuster in reply: "So would hell."

Little did they know that only feet below their dusty wagon ruts lay an underground ocean, one of Earth's miracles. It is called the Ogallala Aquifer.

In its sands and gravel and strata is buried enough fresh water to inundate all 50 states beneath almost 1½ feet. It holds as much water as Lake Huron plus one-fifth of Lake Ontario.

The Ogallala stretches from South Dakota and Wyoming south through Nebraska (which overlies two-thirds of its volume), Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma to Texas and New Mexico.

Once this was all dismissed as The Great American Desert. Modern irrigation has transformed it into an 800-mile green belt made possible by, in effect, upside-down rain.

The Ogallala region today produces up to 40 percent of America's beef, from 20 percent to 25 percent of its food and fiber, notably feed grains and cotton. This output that helps feed and clothe a nation was worth upward of $20 billion in 1989 and fuels an ancillary economy that may reach $50 billion.

Without irrigation, says Nebraska Sen. Loran Schmit, the state's gross product would drop 70 percent.

During the Dust Bowl's historic drought, haggard plainsmen watched red-eyed as their farms and ranchland blew away in the sleepless wind. Salvation lay but a pipe's length beneath their very feet. But they didn't have the tools to reach it. They do now.

Irrigation can produce as much as three to four times more than dry-land farming. The Ogallala became found money. Pumping on a grand scale began in Texas where the High Plains became a mammoth cotton plantation.

Envious farmers peered over their fences at what their irrigating neighbors were doing and the practice moved inexorably northward. In one region of southwest Nebraska, 111,600 acres were irrigated in 1950. By 1983, 973,000 acres were. In Yuma County in northeast Colorado it was 11,000 acres in 1959, 446,000 in 1987. The Lubbock, Texas, area had 3,627 irrigation wells in 1953, 06 in 1989.

Between 1940 and 1980, 400 million acre-feet of the Ogallala's 3.6 billion acre-feet were pumped to the thirsty wells. (An acre-foot covers an acre with 1 foot of water and equals 325,848 gallons.) The result was predictable.

Water levels declined up to 200 feet in Texas, with 23 percent of the water gone as of 1983. Kansas has pumped 38 percent of its water by one estimate. Its farmers pumped 4.4 million acre-feet in 1985. About 40 million acre-feet remain underground. In Kit Carson County in Colorado, water tables have been dropping up to 5 feet annually.

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Good rainfall, dramatically rising costs of pumping fuel, state regulation, federal farm programs and a greater awareness of conservation have combined to stem the flood. Ground water use declined 19 percent from 1980 to 1985.

Many echo grain farmer Ed Ediger of Hampton, Neb.: "Let's leave some for our grandchildren.

In Scott City, Kan., Keith Lebbin, state water district manager for west-central Kansas, describes the local situation as "bleak." But even something as ancient as agriculture is feeling the effects of technology.

New techniques, new irrigation devices are coming from, of all places, Texas, where irrigators used to irrigate most Texanly. Innovations there promise to set a pattern that conceivably will make the aquifer a self-sustaining resource, or at least prolong its future unto Ed Ediger's grandchildren's grandchildren.

"Today's farmer is much better educated about water," says Bill Kastner, a U.S. Geological Survey hydrologist.

It took eons for geology and climate to make this national treasure. In less than a lifetime irrigation has pumped some of it dry. Since World War II new technology has released a flood far, far beyond nature's drip-by-drip ability to replace it.

Water thickness in the Ogallala ranges from a few feet in Kansas and Colorado to 1,300 feet in the Nebraska Sand Hills. The average is 200 feet. Perhaps 11 percent of the aquifer has been pumped since the late 1930s. The maximum decline by 1980 was 200 feet in Floyd County in the Texas Panhandle. By one estimate a quarter of the aquifer will be gone by 2020.

The aquifer has been both mindlessly squandered and utilized with great intelligence, foresight and self-restraint.

In places, it is also slowly being contaminated. In 1987, Nebraska farmers and ranchers put 775,000 tons of fertilizer on the land. And 16,500 tons of pesticides and uncounted tons of herbicides. Cows and hogs produced an additional 235,000 tons of manure. Gradually quantities of this leached downward toward the water.

Can the Ogallala survive the onslaught of man's insatiable hand on the spigot and chemical barrel? To be cautiously Delphic, maybe yes, maybe no. It depends if what CAN be done WILL be done. It is past high noon atop the Ogallala. But it is not, in most places, too late.

Being underground — hence invisible — aquifers are not readily identified nor easily understood once discovered. A pioneer in Nebraska Territory could, and did, hit water digging a post hole. He can be forgiven for crediting good luck, the deity or a forked dowser's stick. His mindset was local, hardly geological. Wiser heads than his had dismissed the region's potential outright.

THE BRIDGES AT TOKO-RI Paramount 1954

- heroic actions on an aircraft carrier - Korean War
- great special effects, real Navy cooperation
- used in US History II

The Mortal Storm**
US 1940 100m bw
MGM

A German family in the thirties is split by Nazism.
Solid anti-Nazi melodrama typical of the period before America entered the war: good performances outweigh unconvincing studio sets.

w Claudine West, George Froeschel, Andersen Ellis, *novel* Phyllis Bottome *d Frank Borzage ph* William Daniels *m* Edward Kane

Margaret Sullavan, Robert Young, James Stewart, Frank Morgan, Robert Stack, Bonita Granville, Irene Rich, Maria Ouspenskaya

'The love story of today with the popular stars of *The Shop Around the Corner'—publicity*

† The film caused Goebbels to ban the showing of MGM pictures in all German territories.

Tender Comrade
US 1943 101m bw
RKO (David Hempstead)

Lady welders whose husbands are fighting men keep their chins up during World War II.
Dim tearjerker.

w Dalton Trumbo *d* Edward Dmytryk *ph* Russell Metty *m* Leigh Harline

Ginger Rogers, Robert Ryan, Ruth Hussey, Patricia Collinge, Mady Christians, Kim Hunter, Jane Darwell

The Bridges at Toko-Ri*
US 1954 104m Technicolor
Paramount / Perlberg–Seaton

The comradeship and death of two jet pilots during the Korean War.
Ambitiously staged action thriller with points to make about war, death and politics: a well-worn American formula pitched very hard.

w Valentine Davies, *novel* James E. Michener *d* Mark Robson *ph* Loyal Griggs *m* Lyn Murray

William Holden, Mickey Rooney, Grace Kelly, Fredric March, Robert Strauss, Charles McGraw, Earl Holliman, Willis Bouchey

'A taut, thrilling, top flight documentary drama of men, war, ships and planes.'—*Cue*

The Best Years of Our Lives****
US 1946 182m bw
Samuel Goldwyn

Three men come home from war to a small middle-American community, and find it variously difficult to pick up where they left off.
The situations and even some of the characters now seem a little obvious, but this was a superb example of high-quality film-making in the forties, with smiles and tears cunningly spaced, and a film which said what was needed on a vital subject.

w Robert Sherwood, novel Glory for Me by Mackinlay Kantor *d William Wyler ph Gregg Toland m* Hugo Friedhofer

Fredric March, Myrna Loy, Teresa Wright, Dana Andrews, Virginia Mayo, Cathy O'Donnell, *Hoagy Carmichael, Harold Russell* (a handless veteran whose only film this was), Gladys George, Roman Bohnen, Ray Collins

'The result is a work of provocative and moving insistence and beauty.'—*Howard Barnes*

'One recognizes everything and in the end this recognition is all the excitement, for what is on the screen becomes finally as accustomed and undramatic as the shabby decor of the theatre itself.'—*Robert Warshow, The Immediate Experience*

'One of the very few American studio-made movies in years that seem to me profoundly pleasing, moving and encouraging.'—*James Agee*

AA: best picture; Robert Sherwood; William Wyler; Hugo Friedhofer; Fredric March; Harold Russell

Other films that I have seen and might use in the future on World War II and and postwar topics:

Mrs. Miniver - 1942

Casablanca - 1942

Hitler's Children - 1943

The Fighting Seabees - 1944

The Sullivans - 1944

Since You Went Away - 1944

Till the End of Time - 1946

Mrs Miniver**

US 1942 134m bw
MGM (Sidney Franklin)

An English housewife survives World War II. This is the rose-strewn English village, Hollywood variety, but when released it proved a beacon of morale despite its false sentiment, absurd rural types and melodramatic situations. It is therefore beyond criticism, except that some of the people involved should have known better.

w Arthur Wimperis, George Froeschel, James Hilton, Claudine West, *novel* Jan Struther *d* William Wyler *ph* Joseph Ruttenberg *m* Herbert Stothart

Greer Garson, Walter Pidgeon, Teresa Wright, Richard Ney, Dame May Whitty, Henry Travers, Reginald Owen, Henry Wilcoxon, Helmut Dantine, Rhys Williams, Aubrey Mather

'That almost impossible feat, a war picture that photographs the inner meaning, instead of the outward realism of World War II.'—*Time*

AA: best picture; script; William Wyler; Joseph Ruttenberg; Greer Garson; Teresa Wright
AAN: Walter Pidgeon; Dame May Whitty; Henry Travers

Hitler's Children*

US 1943 83m bw
RKO (Edward A. Golden)

A family reacts to Hitler and the Hitler Youth.
Artificial melodrama set in an unlikely Germany but successful at the time because of its topicality and its refusal to play the Nazis as idiots, which was the usual Hollywood line.

w Emmet Lavery, *book* Education for Death by Gregor Ziemer *d* Edward Dmytryk *ph* Russell Metty *m* Roy Webb

Tim Holt, Bonita Granville, Otto Kruger, Kent Smith, H. B. Warner, Lloyd Corrigan, Erford Gage, Gavin Muir, Hans Conried

'A curiously compromised production ... strong anti-Nazi propaganda, it has not been woven into a defined and moving show.'—*Howard Barnes, New York Herald Tribune*

'The truth about the Nazis from the cradle to the battlefront!'—*publicity*

The Fighting Seabees

US 1944 100m bw
Republic (Albert J. Cohen)

During World War II in the Pacific, construction workers attack the Japanese.
Routine, studio-staged war melodrama, heavily fleshed out with love interest.

w Borden Chase, Aeneas Mackenzie *d* Edward Ludwig *ph* William Bradford *m* Walter Scharf, Roy Webb

John Wayne, Susan Hayward, Dennis O'Keefe, William Frawley, Duncan Renaldo, Addison Richards, Leonid Kinskey, Paul Fix

AAN: Walter Scharf, Roy Webb

Casablanca****

US 1942 102m bw
Warner *(Hal B. Wallis)*

Rick's Cafe in Casablanca is a centre for war refugees awaiting visas for America. Rick abandons his cynicism to help an old love escape the Nazis with her underground leader husband.
Cinema par excellence: a studio-bound Hollywood melodrama which after various chances just fell together impeccably into one of the outstanding entertainment experiences of cinema history, with romance, intrigue, excitement, suspense and humour cunningly deployed by master technicians and a perfect cast.

w Julius J. Epstein, Philip G. Epstein, Howard Koch, from an unproduced play, Everybody Comes to Rick's, by Murray Burnett and Joan Alison *d Michael Curtiz ph Arthur Edeson m Max Steiner*

Humphrey Bogart, Ingrid Bergman, Claude Rains, Paul Henreid, Conrad Veidt, S. Z. Sakall, Sidney Greenstreet, Peter Lorre, Dooley Wilson (singing 'As Time Goes By'), *Marcel Dalio, Leonid Kinskey*

'A picture which makes the spine tingle and the heart take a leap ... they have so combined sentiment, humour and pathos with taut melodrama and bristling intrigue that the result is a highly entertaining and even inspiring film.'—*New York Times*

'Its humour is what really saves it, being a mixture of Central European irony of attack and racy Broadway-Hollywood Boulevard cynicism.'—*Herman G. Weinberg*

'The happiest of happy accidents, and the most decisive exception to the *auteur* theory.'—*Andrew Sarris, 1968*

'A film which seems to have been frozen in time ... the sum of its many marvellous parts far exceeds the whole.'—*NFT, 1974*

'You can tell by the cast it's important! gripping! big!'—*publicity*

AA: best picture; Julius J. and Philip G. Epstein, Howard Koch; Michael Curtiz
AAN: Arthur Edeson; Max Steiner; Humphrey Bogart; Claude Rains

The Sullivans*

US 1944 111m bw
TCF (Sam Jaffe)
Reissue title: *The Fighting Sullivans*

Five sons of the same family are killed in World War II.
Inspirational true story which had a wide appeal.

w Mary C. McCall Jnr *d* Lloyd Bacon *ph* Lucien Andriot *m* Alfred Newman

Anne Baxter, Thomas Mitchell, Selena Royle, Edward Ryan, Trudy Marshall, John Campbell, James Cardwell, John Alvin, George Offerman Jnr, Roy Roberts

AAN: original story (Jules Schermer, Edward Doherty)

Since You Went Away***

US 1944 172m bw
David O. Selznick

When hubby is away at the war, his wife and family adopt stiff upper lips.
Elaborate flagwaving investigation of the well-heeled American home front in World War II, with everyone brimming with goodwill and not a dry eye in the place. Absolutely superbly done, if it must be done at all, and a symposium of Hollywood values and techniques of the time.

w David O. Selznick, *book* Margaret Buell Wilder *d John Cromwell ph Stanley Cortez, Lee Garmes m* Max Steiner *pd William L. Pereira*

Claudette Colbert, Joseph Cotten, Jennifer Jones, Shirley Temple, Agnes Moorehead, Monty Woolley, Lionel Barrymore, Guy Madison, Robert Walker, Hattie McDaniel, Craig Stevens, Keenan Wynn, Albert Basserman, Nazimova, Lloyd Corrigan

'A deft, valid blend of showmanship, humour, and yard-wide Americanism.'—*James Agee*

'The whole litany of that middle-class synthetic emotionalism, meticulously annotated over a decade by tough and sentimental experts, has been procured for us.'—*Richard Winnington*

'A rather large dose of choking sentiment.'—*Bosley Crowther*

'It is not an average US reality. It is an average US dream.'—*Time*

AA: Max Steiner
AAN: best picture; Stanley Cortez; Claudette Colbert; Jennifer Jones; Monty Woolley

Till the End of Time*

US 1946 105m bw
RKO

Three returning GIs find romance and problems in their small town.
Downbeat variation on *The Best Years of Our Lives* with a theme tune which puts words to a Chopin Polonaise.

w Allen Rivkin *d* Edward Dmytryk *ph* Harry J. Wild *m* Leigh Harline

Dorothy McGuire, Guy Madison, Robert Mitchum

Appendix 8

THE NORTH STAR

(1943)

0000-0189	Opening credits.
0189-0420	Introduction of characters , trip to Kiev.
0631-0675	Radio report, bleeding the children dry.
0808-0980	Teachers speech about Kiev, 1941, devotion and self sacrifice.
1083-1250	Peasant dance.
1250-1470	Conversation about dreams and plans.
1858-1960	Leaving for Kiev.
2212-2752	Meet carts, Nazi planes attack.
2796-3083	Village attacked by planes, Music-The International, Speech of Mayor, Oath of Guerillas.
3189-3358	father killed running guns..
3423-3465	Walter Brennan Speech.
3480-3565	Germans on the way, Doctors talking in the car.
3565-3690	Germans arrive & people burn their own homes.
3751-3891	Germans want village leaders, take wife.
4141-4323	Dana Andrews, plane crash.
4324-4504	Children given supper at hospital, boy dies.
4643-4934	Running guns past German convoy.
4934-5072	Doctor tells guerillas & decide to attack villag
5140-5303	Villager guerillas attack town.
5375-5444	Doctor arrives at hospital.
5451-End	Caravan, Speeches, etc.